

JPRS-NEA-87-018

19 FEBRUARY 1987

## Near East/South Asia Report

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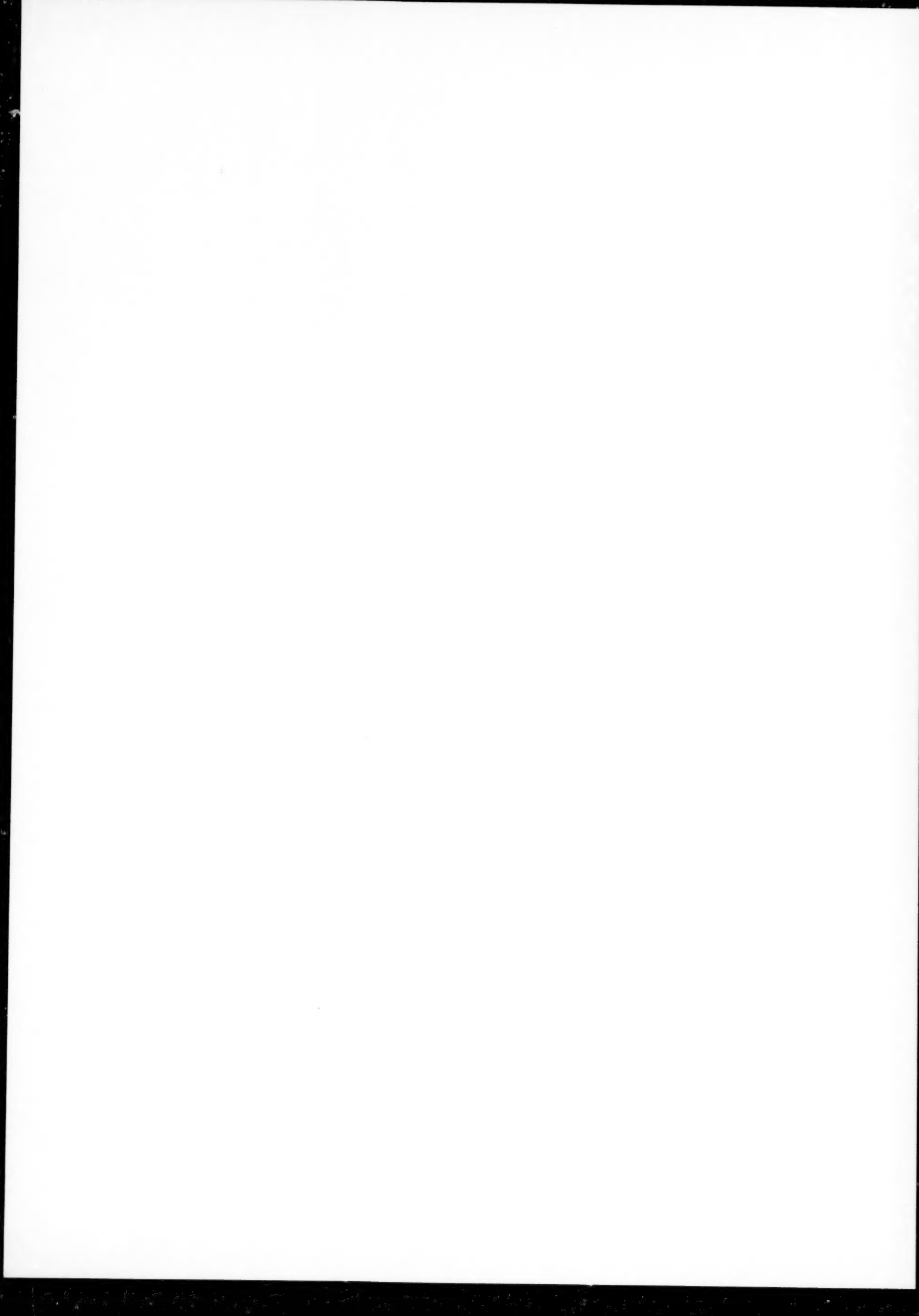
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MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD GENERAL GUIDE DISCUSSES STRATEGIES

Cairo AL-I'TISAM in Arabic Oct-Nov 86 pp 16-18

[Interview with General Guide of Muslim Brothers, Muhammad Hamid Abu al-Nasr, by Salah 'Abd-al-Maqsud: "Muhammad Hamid Abu al-Nasir, General Guide of the Moslem Brothers, with AL-I'TISAM in a Frank, Explicit Conversation"]

[Text] Mr Muhammad Hamid Abu al-Nasr is the general guide whom the Moslem Brothers unanimously agreed should succeed the late fighting man Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani.

Mr Abu al-Nasr is the oldest member of the Society of Moslem Brothers' guidance bureau. The Brothers' rallying of forces around him to assume this position, in order to bring their statements together and unify ranks, occurred for this reason.

Mr Abu al-Nasr was the first person to pledge allegiance to the martyred Imam Hasan al-Banna, in 1924, over the Koran and the gun. At that time he was 21. Thus, he was the first person to pledge allegiance to the Moslem Brothers in Upper Egypt. When the martyred imam visited Asyut in 1924 and the young Muhammad Hamid Abu al-Nasr learned of his arrival, he contacted him by telephone and invited him to visit Manfalut. The martyred imam responded to the invitation, went to Manfalut and prayed in the Abu al-Nasr mosque. After the evening [prayer], he went to the Society of Moslem Youths and proceeded to talk to the people about an exaltation of listening, about a life the likes of which they had not previously seen.

Concerning his pledge of allegiance to the martyred imam, he said,

"He then went over a second time to my house, where I had prepared a special room for him to sleep. He entered it in the name of God, sat down on the rug in a squat and said,

"'What is your opinion about the concepts I mentioned tonight?'

"I said 'The concepts you mentioned are often expressed by givers of sermons, men of exhortation and learned men, but that is not the way to bring the Moslems back to their great times and their glories.'

"he said, 'What then do you consider appropriate?'

"At that time I was a barbarian, with my pistol that I did not part with on meeting the likes of this honored guest whom I had loved before I saw him. I told him that the only way to bring the nation back to its former glories was this, and pointed to my pistol. His features broadened as if he had received what he had desired and had found what he sought, and told me, 'What then? Speak.' I pondered these words for a moment, which he interrupted by bringing out the holy book from his valise, saying, 'Will you give the oath on these?' pointing to the Koran and the pistol. I said, 'Yes,' with a strong impetus which I felt and could not describe, and the pledge of allegiance was made.

"I would like to state that the presence of the Koran alongside the pistol did not signify murder and assassination. Rather, it was a reference to protection of the truth by force."

Mr Abu al-Nasr rose gradually in positions of responsibility in the Society of Moslem Brothers, from head of the Manfalut branch to the office of holy war in Manfalut, al-Qawsiyah and Dayrut, then head of the Asyut area, then supervisor of all the people of Upper Egypt. He was a member of the committee which took charge of gathering weapons for the fighting men in Palestine in 1948 and was elected member of the guidance committee for Upper Egypt for the periods of Imam al-Banna and Imam al-Hudaybi, to the present.

Mr Abu al-Nasr is one of the people who carried out negotiation with the figures of the 1952 coup. He was the third, the other two being the martyr of the judiciary, Mr 'Abd-al-Qadir 'Awdah, and the martyr of al-Azhar, Shaykh Muhammad Farghali.

'Abd-al-Nasir sought to win him over to his side against the Brothers by virtue of the bond of the land to which they belonged, Asyut, but he abided by his pledge of allegiance and remained firm in it, and said, "It is a pledge of allegiance, and will be to none other but God, even if my head is severed beneath it."

He was put in prison and condemned to hard labor for 25 years. He remained in prison from 1954 to 1972, when the Brothers started to emerge from the darkness of the prisons.

The man is pervaded by humility, tranquility and depth of thinking. He is rigid with respect to the truth and weighs his words before they come out. He has the passion of a young man, is devoted to work and does not have a predilection for words.

Herewith is the text of the interview AL-I'TISAM held with him:

[Question] Some people are now wondering: statements have been uttered by some old leaders of the Moslem Brothers following the death of Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani, may God have mercy on him, in the newspapers and magazines. To what extent are these statements close to or remote from the society's official position?

[Answer] These statements, from their various sources represent, the personal view of the people making them, though I respect the persons making them.

No Dispute among Us, Thanks to God

[Question] Much talk has been raised about the existence of disputes among some of the Brothers' leaders, especially over the position of the guide. What is the extent of the truth of these rumors?

[Answer] No dispute exists. There might be viewpoints which have been expressed by some people, but the unanimity of the Brothers has been expressed without dispute, over a single command.

I Stand on the Side of What Is Right

[Question] Mr Muhammad Hamid Abu al-Nasr has been accused of taking a strict position. Is this correct? Is it also, correct, that there is a hard-line position among the Brothers and another which is not?

[Answer] I stand permanently on the side of what is right. I journey with it wherever it journeys. The society does not have hard-liners and backsliders. Everyone journeys behind a single command, and a single view.

'Abd-al-Nasir, the Brothers' Enemy

[Question] Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani, may God have mercy on him, wrote a book about 'Abd-al-Nasir which he called, "The People, Not I, Have Spoken in Judgment of 'Abd-al-Nasir." You wrote your memoirs under the title "The Truth of the Dispute between 'Abd-al-Nasir and the Moslem Brothers." In them you stated your view in judgment of 'Abd-al-Nasir. How do you explain the difference in the style of your treatment of the subject?

[Answer] There is no difference with respect to my view and that of Mr 'Umar -- may God have mercy on him -- on 'Abd-al-Nasir's being an enemy of the Moslem Brothers. However, each of us has his own method and style. That is apparent from the memoirs I wrote and the dispute which occurred between the Moslem Brothers and 'Abd-al-Nasir, and history has stood as a witness to the veracity of these memoirs.

Closing Ranks

[Question] Since the establishment of their society in 1928, the Moslem Brothers have been seeking to unify the Moslems, beginning with the attempt at unifying the groups working for Islam. What intention do you have vis-a-vis the realization of this great hope?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the Moslem Brothers are working to close Islamic ranks, unify people's statements and mend rifts. All the Moslems' power lies in this power. How good was the rule the martyred imam, Hasan al-Banna, may God's satisfaction be upon him, implanted, that we should cooperate with respect to the things on which we have reached agreement and excuse one another with respect to the things on which we have differed.

Everyone can agree on the general bases of Islam and not let peripheral points be a cause for the creation of conflicts.

If God enables the Society of Moslem Brothers to return legally as a group or a party, which is not far-fetched, we will work seriously to bring people's statements together and unify ranks, and almighty God is the custodian of success.

#### The Young People of Today and the Young People of Yesterday

[Question] How does the fourth guide of the Society of Moslem Brothers view Moslem youth today? Are the youth of today different from the youth of yesterday? What are the reasons?

[Answer] The young people of yesterday were given every means to be trained by means of families, battalions, conferences and trips and they were an understanding image of the comprehensive Islamic appeal. As for the young people of today, almighty God has distinguished them by boldness, enthusiasm and the intense desire for sacrifice and abnegation. However, they have been deprived of the stages of training the society set out in the past because of the country's prohibition of their existence due to this tyrannical secular law.

[Question] In a number of previous conversations you said that you would concentrate in the coming period on the upbringing of Moslem youths. What do you suppose Moslem youths need today?

[Answer] Young people today need emphasis on the notions of belief in themselves, on the bases which the martyred imam Hasan al-Banna set forth and which Imam Hasan al-Hudaybi protected and defended. His work "Proselytizers not Judges" contains the best proof of sound emphasis and understanding.

#### A New Revival

[Question] Some people say that one of the most important things Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir wrought was that he deprived the Egyptian people of the Moslem brothers for a period of time. How do you interpret this statement?

[Answer] 'Abd-al-Nasir did not believe in Islam's relevance to the establishment and resurgence of nations. He also believed in secularism, which separates religion from politics. This unsound notion has had its evils in belief, in education and in morality up to now. In application of this notion, 'Abd-al-Nasir turned the Society of the Brothers away from the education of the young and orientation of the people toward the pure religion, and inflicted upon them this ordeal whose likes have not been heard in history, out of his belief that this was the way to eliminate it and Islamic thinking. However, what happened is the renewed revival of the Society of Moslem Brothers and the revival of their beliefs. The group has been stronger, more weighty as a group and firmer in confrontation than before. It is a saying of almighty God: "It is we who have sent down the remembrance, and we watch over it."



## A Gift

[Question] It has been said that the Moslem Brothers' "ordeals" were a "gift" and a victory for their appeal, since they were a cause of the spread of their appeal over all the countries of the world. Do you agree with this statement? How do you interpret it?

[Answer] This is true. The Brothers' ordeal was an ordeal from almighty blessed God. The Brothers gained deeper understanding and were upright in their ranks and God increased their knowledge and action. In this manner was realized the statement of almighty blessed God: "They want to extinguish God's light by their mouths but God refuses other than that his light be perfected, even if the unbelievers are averse." Their appeal spread about in all areas, and came to be on all tongues. Many people, Arabs and non-Arabs, joined them: "God prevails in his purpose, but most people know not."

[Question] The Moslem Brothers were successful in the previous People's Assembly elections. What benefit did the Brothers get from going into parliament? Will this experience be repeated? Why?

[Answer] The Moslem Brothers, following the harsh ordeal, required legal channels which would prepare them to take part in bearing responsibility and uplifting this beloved nation. With thanks to God, some of them entered parliament, took part in many beneficial, useful issues and nourished the demand for the application of Islamic law. However, their matters have not been known among the public, because they do not have newspapers to give prominence to these positions, and this happened after work in silence, without publicity. There is no doubt that the experience of the Brothers' advent in this manner has to some extent been a success and if they had been given the opportunities and had been given the resources they would have tried once again to go under the rotunda of parliament and take part with the sincere people of this country. The Brothers' participation in parliament is to be considered an indication of the people's esteem for the Brothers. We have in God then in the future the hope of realizing what is good for this people.

[Question] After what has been published about the Liberal and al-Ummah Parties' appeal to the Brothers to merge within them, what is the Moslem Brothers' position on this appeal? How do you envision their relationship to Egyptian parties now?

[Answer] The broad base of the Moslem Brothers has rejected a merger with all parties, not out of aversion to any party but rather because the Brothers have their own belief and method for realizing the interests of the country. This does not prevent cooperation with the parties in all reform areas to build up this nation, move it away from the abyss of backwardness in civilization and save it from the effects arising from it.

[Question] What is the truth about the news of the party on the attempt to establish which an announcement has been made? What is the news of the subject of the restitution of the Society following the death of Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani?

[Answer] The Brothers have finished setting out the program bearing on the political party they want to establish in the context of the present laws, in order to exercise their activity in service of the country by means of that. With respect to the subject of the restitution of the Society which the jurist of Islam and the Moslems, Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani, raised beginning in 1977, we will resume presenting that after the adoption of measures to change Mr 'Umar's name and present it in my name, since I am the oldest member of the guidance bureau.

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ISLAMIC VICTORIES IN UNIVERSITY ELECTIONS DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-I'TISAM in Arabic Dec 86-Jan 87 pp 39-42

[Article by Salah 'Abd-al-Maqsud: "The Islamic Groups Won in Spite of the Comedy of the Student Elections in the Egyptian Universities"]

[Text] "How many laughable things there are in Egypt! But it is laughter like crying." [From a poem by al-Mutanabbi]

The investigation apparatus and the ruling National Democratic Party formed an alliance with the Nasserites and communists to oust the Islamic groups from the student unions in the Egyptian universities.

Amidst an atmosphere of planned terror and organized oppression the like of which has never before been witnessed by the Egyptian universities, with the arrest of groups of students at the universities of Asyut, al-Minya, and Damanhur, the dismissal of others at the universities of al-Azhar, Hulwan, and al-Minya, and the rejection of the papers and deletion of the names of more than 2,000 candidates--

And amidst recourse by some students at the universities of Cairo and Alexandria to the court to have their nomination papers delivered by court usher to the administrations of their colleges, something that is happening for the first time in the history of the Egyptian universities--

And with some students bringing legal actions against the presidents of Asyut University and Alexandria University for negligence in protecting students from power of the security apparatus and its deletion [of names] and rejection [of nominations]--

Amidst this dark and gloomy atmosphere, student union elections were held in the Egyptian universities. The NDP tried hard to distance the Islamic groups from the unions, but it failed, just as it failed in past years.

Dr Yusuf Wali, secretary of the NDP, stated last year that the party had exerted all its efforts to oust the Islamic groups, but that their planning--meaning that of the Islamic groups--had been superior.

In spite of everything that took place, the youth of Egypt demonstrated that their universities were Islamic and that the voice of Islam within them would remain strong, God willing.

The slates of the Islamic groups--those of them that escaped deletion--won at a rate of 100 percent, despite all attempts to bring them down.

Yes, the youth of the Islamic groups demonstrated their moderation and that they are the broad base of the youth of Egypt. The investigations apparatus and NDP rabble demonstrated that they were the real extremists. Otherwise, how can we explain the excesses and attacks they committed against students of Islamic groups at the Cairo agricultural and business colleges, and at some of the colleges of the universities of Alexandria, al-Zaqaziq, Damanhur, and Hulwan?

The students girded themselves with patience, let the occasion pass, and won a victory and the confidence of their colleagues, male and female alike.

In this report, AL-I'TISAM will try to give the reader a quick picture of some of what took place in the universities of Egypt, the "land of the Kinanah tribe."

#### Nomination by Court Usher at Alexandria University

In Alexandria, more than 175 students in 9 colleges were deleted from the lists and the papers of more than 240 students were rejected. This led some students to present their nomination papers through the court by means of a court usher!

At the College of Agriculture, the nominations lists appeared after 45 students had been deleted and the nomination papers of 22 students had been rejected.

At the College of Business, 10 students were deleted and the papers of 25 students rejected.

At the College of Education, 30 students were deleted and the nomination papers of 22 students were rejected.

At the College of Letters, 3 students were deleted and the papers of 17 students were rejected.

At the College of Medicine, 6 students were deleted and the papers of 74 students were rejected.

At the College of Pharmacy, 5 students were deleted and the papers of 19 students were rejected.

At the College of Engineering, 5 students were deleted and the papers of 20 students were rejected.

At the College of Sciences, 40 students were deleted and the nomination papers of 15 students were rejected.

At the College of Law, 20 students were deleted and the papers of 30 students were rejected.

This all happened despite the fact that the students had fully provided all the papers required from them!

The colleges of Damanhur, which are affiliated with the University of Alexandria, had their share of troubles, with the nomination papers of students with Islamic leanings being rejected.

"Dawn visitors" raided the homes of eight students and arrested them to prevent them from being nominated and to intimidate those who were behind them.

In spite of this, the Islamic group candidates who escaped being deleted from the lists won. Not a single candidate lost. For example:

--At the College of Medicine, the Islamic group obtained 71 out of 72 seats.

--At the College of Dentistry, it obtained 35 out of 47 seats.

--At the College of Pharmacy, it obtained 45 out of 47 seats.

--At the College of Engineering, it obtained 60 out of 60 seats.

--At the College of Sciences, it obtained 47 out of 48 seats.

--At the College of Agriculture, it obtained 41 out of 48 seats.

--At the College of Education, it obtained 24 out of 48 seats.

--At the College of Law, it obtained 40 out of 48 seats.

--At the College of Business, it obtained 43 out of 48 seats.

--As for the rest of the seats, those who obtained them did so either by appointment or by attestation--and that was after the deletion operations!

#### Deletion of 750 Students from the Lists at al-Zaqaziq University

Al-Zaqaziq University had the lion's share in the election comedy. More than 750 students were deleted from the nomination lists. In the College of Medicine alone, 120 students were deleted. The dean of the college, Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im 'ali, volunteered the sum of 1,000 Egyptian pounds to the family of "friends," which he supervises, to support its activity against the Islamic tendency at the college.

The colleges of veterinary medicine, pharmacy, agriculture, and engineering witnessed strikes from classes ranging in length from hours, at the College of Veterinary Medicine, to 2 days, at the College of Engineering.

The Islamic group held a conference in which thousands of students participated. They reviewed the deletion operations that had taken place against those who followed the Islamic tendency at the university, and a number of recommendations were reached:

--Demanding a halt to the hysterical comedy of deleting names from the lists, and the restoration to the nomination lists of the names of all who had been deleted from them.

--Demanding the abolition of the existing student bylaws, the abolition of the university police, and forbidding Interior Ministry interference in university affairs.

--Asking the president of the university, "Who is running the university: university officials, or officials of the security forces?"

--Urging faculty members to hold fast to the demands of the statement of the faculty club conference.

--Demanding that the cordon around the university by central security be lifted.

In spite of the deletion of names and rejection of papers that occurred at al-Zaqaziq University, as well as the interference of security in the elections--

We say that in spite of all this the Islamic group at al-Zaqaziq University won some seats. Everyone who escaped having his name deleted won, foremost among them being the group's lists at the College of Letters, where they won in all the committees.

#### Students Arrested at Asyut University

At the University of Asyut, the security apparatus arrested more than 200 students, and the public prosecutor's office had them held without bail, so as to clear the way for the NDP candidates in the student elections--as was stated by the party's youth secretary in Asyut. The university refused to accept the nomination papers of all students from the Islamic groups, and it won most of the committees by attestation or by appointment of elements put forward by the security apparatus or the NDP. The Youth Supervision Offices at the university placed every obstacle in the path of the nomination of students with an Islamic outlook. The last of these obstacles consisted of forcing the students to bring a certificate reporting his activity on the committee for which he was going to be a candidate. When he brought this certificate, it would be rejected. Also, students were forced to write a promise not to enter the elections on the slates of the Islamic groups, or put up any posters within the university, or announce their activity inside

lecture halls. The promise ended with the student's acceptance of the following expression: "In case I violate the campaign rules and regulations, I will consider myself to have renounced candidacy. If it is proved against me after the elections, my election shall be considered invalid. I hereby register my approval of this."

When the comedy was finished, the elections came out in favor of the NDP and the security apparatus!

"They put on airs so as to increase, not knowing that swelling does not make the limbs grow." [A line of verse]

Weeping at 'Ayn Shams University

At 'Ayn Shams University, many candidates from Islamic groups had their names deleted, purportedly for lack of previous activity. Among those whose names were deleted was the president of the social committee of the 'Ayn Shams University Student Union. He was the originator of the university bus project and of textbook support, in addition to his having organized several trips, including one to perform the 'Umrah (the lesser pilgrimage to Mecca). The alleged reason for deleting his name was that he had no activity!

Similarly, the name of the first honor student at 'Ayn Shams University was dropped, as well as that of the second honor student for 1985-86. Who, then, represents the university? The students of 'Ayn Shams University held a conference attended by thousands of male and female students to protest the deletion of the names of students having an Islamic outlook. As one student recited a poem entitled, "At Your Service, Islam of Heroism!" the students of the university wept over the slaughter of the elections.

The words of the song are as follows:

"At your service, Islam of heroism, all of us offer ourselves for defense. At your service! Make from our skulls a ladder for your strength. At your service! If the flag thirsts, young people will pour out their blood for it. At your service! At your service! At your service!"

While the song was being sung by the large crowds in attendance, tears rolled from the eyes of male and female students as they sang: "At your service, Islam of heroism, all of us offer ourselves for defense." The composer of the song also cried, and the scene was extremely affecting.

What is strange is that when the students asked one of the officials of the university to produce the decision to delete the names so that its signatories could be known, the official excused himself, saying simply:

"The deletion of the names took place at the urgent desire of 'high authorities' that sent the college administration a special letter marked 'top secret.'"

At the end of their conference, the students demanded that the university administration announce its position frankly and bravely and that it take the appropriate stand to protect the students and defend their rights to choose their representatives. They also demanded that the Minister of Higher Education begin his term by taking an honorable stand and halting this comedy. Under pressure, most of the names that had been deleted were restored, and the results after the elections showed that the Islamic tendency had won a majority of the seats of the unions.

#### Names Deleted at Hulwan University

At Hulwan University, it was not enough to forbid students from entering the campus on the ground that they were from Islamic groups, but the same thing repeated itself during the recent student elections, with the administration of the colleges deleting all names of students with Islamic leanings from the election lists. At al-Matariyah Technological College, 15 students' names were deleted. At the College of Foreign Trade in al-Zamalik, 11 students' names were deleted. At the College of Applied Arts, 8 students' names were deleted. At the College of Fine Arts, 15 students' names were deleted. At the College of Technical Education, 22 students' names were deleted. All the candidates at the College of Education were deleted. At the College of Foreign Trade, 4 students were turned over for judicial inquiry because of election campaign literature. At the College of Applied Arts, one student was dismissed for a month and turned over to an investigating board for the same reason.

#### Al-Minya University Victory

Al-Minya University was under less pressure than the University of Asyut. In spite of the students' being subjected to wide-scale name deletion operations, the Islamic group won approximately 70 percent of student union seats at the university, even with many seats being occupied by appointment or attestation.

#### Thugs and Attacks at Cairo University

Cairo University also witnessed many deletions of names, and the papers of many candidates were rejected. At the College of Pharmacy, the security [apparatus] deleted the names of all the candidates. The NDP tried to enter the student elections and formed an alliance with the Nasserites and communists under a variety of names, among them "The Union of Families," "The Moderate Islamic Tendency," "The Free Students," "The Patriotic Committee," "The Arabic Studies Association," and "The Union of Patriotic Forces." Victory, however, eluded them, and they obtained only a few committees that one could count on the fingers of one hand.

During the elections, NDP candidates physically attacked the candidates of the Islamic groups at the colleges of business and agriculture, forcing the candidates of the Islamic group to respond to them. Dire consequences almost took place. Also, the dean of the College of Medicine tried to prevent the



candidates of the Islamic group from winning. But "the winds blew the wrong way" for the dean, and the elections at Cairo University ended with the victory of 100 percent of the Islamic candidates at the colleges of medicine, engineering, veterinary medicine, natural treatment, Dar al-'Ulum College, sciences, and the colleges of al-Fayyum. At the colleges of law, journalism, agriculture, and archeology, 75 percent of them won. The Islamic group won no seat at the College of Letters, where candidates of the NDP won.

At the College of Journalism, all the political tendencies united in a bloc--supported by the security, faculty, and student supervision staff--against the Islamic group. In spite of this, the group's candidates won and obtained all committee seats but one, which was obtained by the Nasserites and represents their only seat at Cairo University. Dr Faruq Abu-Zayd, preceptor of the union at the college and leader of the battle against the Islamic group in it, commented on the victory of the Islamic group by saying that he would tender his resignation as preceptor of the union!

#### Calamity at al-Azhar University

We conclude this report with what occurred at al-Azhar University, the university of 1,000 years. What no one expected occurred there. The university witnessed several strikes and demonstrations because of what happened in the College of Islamic Preaching, which is headed by Dr Ra'uf Shalabi. Dr Ra'uf Shalabi deleted the names of some candidates, foremost among them the former president of the union, withdrew the identity cards of 12 students among them, and expelled them from the college, after having beaten some of them. He left the committees of the union vacant, appointing only 11 out of 48 members. The student union of al-Azhar issued a statement, saying: "Ra'uf Shalabi is leading a slaughter of Islam at the College of Islamic Preaching!" The Union of al-Azhar Students accused Dr Ra'uf Shalabi of having assaulted some students with shoes and sticks and of having cursed their fathers and mothers with words too crude to print. When the students, out of sympathy for their comrades, went to the college, Shaykh Kamal Mustafa halted all the candidates whose names had been deleted at the gate of the college, saying to one of them: "Go to the dean so that he can deal with you!" He said to the other: "The son of a ---- has made a fool of you." (Apologies for not mentioning the word; he was referring to the president of the union by this curse.) When the dismissed students went to complain to Dr al-Sa'di Farhud, he gave them copies of the Qur'an and was conciliatory toward them, promising that they could enter the college. However, they were again turned away. In protest against what was happening at the College of Islamic Preaching, students in the student residences of al-Azhar University went on a hunger strike and did not eat dinner the evening of 23 November 1986. The students of al-Azhar University also organized a student conference at which they criticized the behavior of Dr Ra'uf Shalabi. However, no one from the university administration responded to them. Some of the students were therefore forced to make a report to the public prosecutor's office against Dr Ra'uf Shalabi.

How can this happen at a college that is supposed to be teaching its students how to summon men to God "with wisdom and good admonition?" "And who speaks fairer than he who calls unto God and does righteousness?" (Qur'an 41:33)  
How can students be cursed and beaten while they are learning: "Call thou to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and good admonition?" (Qur'an 16:125).

12937/12851

CSO: 4504/99



RIGHTIST OPPOSITION PAPER LISTS WISHES FOR NEW YEAR

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 5 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by 'Abd-al-Fattah al-Shurbaji: "A View: Happy New Year"]

[Text] Good lord, make it a happy year for our beloved Egypt, our great Arab nation and our Islamic world, whose unification under God's law would be best for all mankind. I hope that the year 1987 will witness these things. There is nothing far-fetched in God's mind.

Amendment of the Egyptian constitution on behalf of the country and the worshippers by putting God's law into effect.

The prosperity of democratic action and curbing of the single-party system.

The election of the president and his vice president in a direct manner.

The election of the Shaykh of al-Azhar, the mufti, the governors and the mayors and village heads.

The deep understanding by the members of the parliaments of their true role of functioning as the advocates of the people, not cooking up laws, so that they not change every year.

The treatment of problems between landlords and tenants on farmland and in housing so that justice may reign among all parties without discrimination on behalf of one class against another.

Political stability so that economic reform will be able to proceed in its natural course.

The creation of confidence for investors through the stabilization of laws so that they will agree to produce and instruments for savings will increase.

Elimination of the specter of the general secondary [examination], which terrifies our student children.

Elimination of what is known as cooperative marketing, which cooperation has nothing to do with at all.

The total disengagement by the public sector from all living organizations, be they vegetable or animal.

The world's advocacy of the slogan "Year of peace," with the two superpowers limiting the acquisition of arms destructive to man by directing allocations for armaments to the service of peace.

The halt of Arab struggles and Arab infighting and the halt of the war of the camps in Lebanon, never to resume, in order to spare innocent Arab blood and save efforts on behalf of confrontation of the Zionist enemy, Israel.

Our witnessing of the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland.

The halt to the Iraqi-Iranian war, so that the Moslems may join together in word on behalf of Islam.

Finally, God, guide the ruling regimes to observe God among their peoples, ward the danger of war, poverty and ignorance away from them, and establish peace, wealth, knowledge and culture in their place.

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CSO: 4504/98

MINISTER FOR PEACE INTERVIEWED

Khartoum GUIDING STAR in English 8 Jan 87 p 5

[Text] The year 1987 has been declared the year of peace in the Sudan by the Ministry for Peace and constitutional Affairs.

In the pursuit of the same peace effort and as a follow-up of what the Ministry has been doing to achieve that peace, the Editor-in-Chief of the Guiding Star, Mr Benjamin L. Warille, quizzed the Minister for peace and Constitutional Affairs, Dr. Mohamed Ahmed Yaggi, on some the pertinent issues.

The following are Dr. Yaggi's written answers:

[Question] Since the creation of Your Ministry, what concrete steps have you taken to restore peace in this country? (i) What have been the successes or achievements? (ii) Or what were the hurdles on the road to peace?

[Answer] The first concrete step is the very establishment of the Ministry of Peace and Constitutional Conference Affairs. In terms of staffing we now have an Under-Secretary assisted by a task force of cadres recruited on secondment from various Government departments. As for political achievements there has been a series of contacts with various bodies all aimed at promoting the cause of peace. The most outstanding of these activities was the meeting between H.E. the Prime Minister and Dr. John Garang, leader of SPLA/SPLM. Although subsequent unfortunate events adversely affected the general situation, that meeting at least demonstrated the Government's general desires to resolve the conflict through dialogue and peaceful means. The second concrete step towards the convention of the national conference is the current consultative meeting between the Ministry and representatives of various political parties, universities and research institutions and trade unions.

As for hurdles on the road to peace, it is a pity there have been quite a few.

The first obstacle was the non-recognition of the SPLA/SPLM of the present democratically elected Government as the legitimate government of the Sudan. If the SPLA/SPLM are committed to dialogue as they claim then one wonders how such dialogue can take place without a government as the other party. The second obstacle was the plane incident, which prompted the Government

to ban all contacts with the SPLA/SPLM. The third obstacle, is the sharp differences, between the Southern Political parties and groups. These differences have made it difficult for the Government to implement certain administrative arrangements and policies that might have served to facilitate the peace process. The last hurdle in our view has been the uncoordinated endeavours and pronouncements made by various Government agencies, public officials and media columnists, some of which served to generate more confusion and bitterness rather than to accentuate areas of common understanding and consensus.

[Question] Do you think true peace can be achieved without the participation of the SPLA/SPLM?

[Answer] If by true peace you mean the absence of war or violent protest then it needs no great effort to realise that true peace cannot be achieved without the participation of the SPLA/SPLM in the peace process. It is possible for the political forces inside the country to reach some agreement over the issues of contention but it would not be easy to translate such agreement into action if the SPLA/SPLM chose not to go along. This is because any guerrilla movement, however weak, has a certain capability to disrupt peace and hinder development. A real peaceful situation is one in which the ordinary citizen is free to pursue his normal life without any threat to his physical security or hinderance to such activities to enable him to earn his living. As long as there are armed people roaming the jungles of the South it would be unrealistic to talk of true peace. It is my sincere hope that the efforts now being exerted by the Government, the National Alliance for Salvation of the Country and the various political forces shall bring the SPLA/SPLM to the negotiating table to join the rest of the Sudanese political forces in the search for an effective resolution of the conflict and lasting peace.

[Question] It is said that a good government should attract citizens to live in peace by providing them with physical security, food, shelter and all the necessary services. Such a policy would convince those who are hiding in the forests or those who have sought refuge in neighbouring countries to return home. Some authorities in the South seem to be dispersing citizens on basis of tribes or political differences. Do you think this helps the peace process?

[Answer] The purpose of any Government or legitimacy is to serve the citizens by providing their essential needs including physical security. If in the Southern Sudan some responsible authorities seem not to be living up to the expectations of their fellow citizens then this is quite unfortunate. However, there should really be no difficulty in rectifying any shortcomings; for in a democratic system there are established institutions which function in accordance with accepted norms, conventions and statutes. I believe that, all administrative disputes or controversies can be overcome by simply adhering to the principle of supremacy of the rule of law.

[Question] When do you think the proposed constitutional conference will take place?

[Answer] It shall be convened as soon as preparations currently underway are completed.

[Question] If such a constitutional conference does take place at all, what type of government do you think will implement the resolutions or recommendations of the conference, given the fact that former agreements are most often than not being dishonoured?

[Answer] I think the issue of what type of government to implement the resolutions or recommendations of the proposed national constitutional conference should be one of the issues that the conference itself should determine.

[Question] Do you have specific comments to make on the generalities of your work?

[Answer] Yes. I wish to reiterate that the nature of our work is more political than executive. This means that our work involves extensive contacts and consultations, a process which is in turn time-consuming and difficult to subject to an exact time-table.

For this kind of task it goes without saying that we need the goodwill and cooperation of everybody. On the other hand one cannot help but point out that of late there has been mushrooming of activities in the area of peace, all probably well-intended but unfortunately uncoordinated.

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CSO: 4500/54

BONA MALWAL COMMENTS ON GOVERNMENT AND LAW

Khartoum SUDAN TIMES in English 5 Jan 87 p 3

["Focus on Issues" article by Bona Malwal: "The Executive Branch of Government and the Rule of Law!"]

[Text] For those who witnessed the turbulent Sudanese politics of the sixties, the government's decision two weeks ago to ignore a court order, is painfully reminiscent of similar government arrogance in 1966. The decision by the Khartoum Province Administrative Court in favour of officials of the Council of Ministers who had appealed against a government decision to transfer them was almost defiantly rejected by the government. The court ruled that the officials should be reinstated because their dismissal was not in accordance with civil service regulations and procedures and that the decision violated the basic rights of the employees.

The court's decision is in itself not particularly significant nor is the government's rejection of it, if it was accompanied by a decision to appeal the decision. The legal and political significance of the case lies solely in the government's pointed refusal to accept it. The officials were in fact told if they turned up for their duties at the Council of Ministers they would be thrown out. A case that could have been handled diplomatically, legally, and aroused little public interest becomes a challenge to the court and raises important principles.

Anyone is entitled to question a court decision, but if the concept of democracy is to be meaningful in the Sudanese context, the court's rulings must be respected. This, the government has not done. An alternative course was readily available to the government. It could have announced its intention to appeal to a higher court the original court's ruling and seek from the appeal court a stay of execution. In normal circumstances - and until the government's high handed interference, this case was very much a "normal" one - the stay of execution would have been granted. If the government had followed this course it would have avoided having to reinstate the unwanted officials and at the same time be seen as operating within the law.

There are three unfortunate aspects to the government's cavalier behavior, each of which can be illuminated by a brief examination of recent Sudanese history: first, is the government's open contempt for a court ruling; second, is the government's willingness to disregard the importance of a separation of power bases under a democratic regime; and lastly, the government's political ineptitude in failing to understand the consequences of a similar government defiance of a court ruling in 1966.

Historically there are many parallels between the present problem and that faced by the 1966 parliament, not least of which is that the same parties in both instances formed the government. The burning issue twenty years ago was the attempt to unseat the twelve MPs, of the Communist Party. Taken up with all the joral fervour religious dogmatism and authoritarianism that characterize the Islamic National Front, the objective was also accepted by the government, despite the fact that the Moslem Brothers were only supporters of the government, and not members of the ruling coalition.

In response to an anti-democratic Constituent Assembly, the Communists took the constitutional road of appealing to the Constitutional Court. The court appropriately ruled in the Communist party's favour in 1967 and ordered that they should resume their places in parliament.

Not to be deterred by a mere judge, the then Prime Minister one Sadig El Mahdi; argued that the Constitutional Court's ruling was only advisory and not mandatory on the government. The government therefore was not obliged to accept it. The Communist MPs were summarily dismissed from parliament, the judicial system was undermined, parliamentary procedure made a mockery of and democratic government began a decline from which it was not to recover.

A few months later a crisis of confidence developed between the coalition partners; the Democratic Unionist Party requested that its members resign from parliament, and the Supreme Council which was headed by the leader of the DUP dissolved parliament and ordered fresh elections. This time Sadig El Mahdi went to court to contest the dissolution, but in 1968 the court ruled that the dissolution was a matter to be decided by parliament alone. In the subsequent elections the Umma Party under the late Mohammad Ahmed Mahgoub came to power and a year later Nimeiri was holding the reins of power. There is thus a clear and identifiable course beginning with the ousting of the Communists and the rejection of the court's ruling and the military coup of 1969.

The concept of a separation of powers is not simply a theoretical construction but a practical organisation of the state to ensure that no one branch is in a position to monopolize power. Each branch, to use the phrase popularized by American Political Science, serves as a check and balance on the other branches.

In the case of Sudan with a short history of parliamentary democracy, poorly developed popular mass based organisations, a press that even if it was competent to assume the role of opposition, can only reach the 20% of the population that is literate, and weak legislature, a judiciary that has the power to challenge and restrain government decisions is an essential component of a viable democracy. If this is the theory, it can only be realized if all three branches of state power accept and respect the roles of the other branches. If the most powerful branch - the executive - fails to accept this division, the entire edifice collapses and with it democratic government. While we would not be so incautious to argue that the present government by its arbitrary action has brought about the collapse of the



division of powers in logic and in spirit it runs in the same direction as that of the fateful decision made in 1966.

The courts, it should be remembered, have no force to see that their rulings are carried out. They are executed by organs of the state like the police who are under the control of the cabinet. The court's power in the final analysis depends not on what is laid out in a constitution, but on the force of ideas, on the strength of democratic institutions, and crucially on the willingness of other branches of the state to accept the court's right to question, interfere with, and over-rule its decisions. Typically it is when the government sees the courts as an impediment to its freedom of action that the freedom of the people is likely to be threatened.

Certainly we must not put ourselves in the position of defending the courts in the abstract. We need look no further than the judiciary under a dictator like Nimeiri to appreciate that a judiciary captive to the government is no friend of the people, is no defender of freedom. But the present decision of the Administrative Court that has aroused the government's ire suggests that we are dealing with a reformed judiciary that is growing in self-confidence and quite prepared to challenge the government. It does the government little credit to applaud court decisions that it approves of, such as those that have gone against officials of the May regime and decisions of that regime's courts and then reject out of hand a court ruling unfavourable to it.

In the present instance the damage has already been done but corrective measures can and should be taken. The Prime Minister, who was out of the country when his Minister for Cabinet Affairs announced the defiance of the court, can simply over-rule his Minister and announce either his acceptance of the court decision or that his government will appeal the decision in the normal manner. These are still early days in the life of Sadig El Mahdi's government when decisions of this nature have the force of settling the tone for the government's relationship for a long time to come. More than that they convey an important message to the public on the nature of the branches of the state, how well they function, and whether they are operating democratically.

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## SUDAN

### BRIEFS

PORT SUDAN DEVELOPMENT--Khartoum, Jan 3 (SUNA)--Preparations for conducting studies on third phase for upgrading Port Sudan harbour have started. The project costs 50 million dollars as the capacity of the port will rise to 11 million tonnes from 8 million tonnes which is the maximum capacity of the port. An authoritative source told SUNA that a delegation from the International Development Association (IDA) has recently visited the country to hold talks in this direction. [Text] [Khartoum SUDAN NEWS AGENCY in English 3 Jan 87 p 4] /9317

CSO: 4500/52

BULGARIAN OFFICIAL DISCUSSES MUTUAL RELATIONS

Tunis DIALOGUE in French 8 Dec 86 pp 28, 29

[Interview with Anguel Dimitrov, secretary of the permanent presidency of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party: "Raise Tunisian-Bulgarian Cooperation to a Higher Level"]

[Text] Anguel Dimitrov, secretary of the permanent presidency of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, made a visit to Tunisia from 1 to 4 December. The Bulgarian guest was received by the leaders of the PSD [Destourian Socialist Party] and some government members, notably Rachid Sfar and Hedi Baccouche with whom he exchanged viewpoints concerning current issues and cooperation between the two countries. To learn more about the results of this visit, DIALOGUE interviewed the Bulgarian leader.

[Question] First of all, what is the purpose of your visit to Tunisia?

[Answer] The Agrarian Party and the PSD have friendly relations that date a long way back. Next year will mark the 30'th anniversary of the first contact between officials of the two countries and the establishment of fraternal relations between the two parties. So we came to propose to the PSD leaders that we celebrate this occasion which should be a source of pride for our two peoples; especially since over the last few years an enriching cooperative relationship has been established both at the party level and at that of the two countries.

And especially since the Agrarian Party, which follows closely Tunisia's development, appreciates the clear-sighted policy of President Bourguiba and the advance of independent Tunisia on the road to progress.

[Question] What subjects did you bring up during your discussions with Tunisian officials?

[Answer] My discussions with PSD Secretary General Rachid Sfar, the party leader, and certain members of the government were profitable on more than one count. I also visited certain areas and I want to take advantage of this occasion to thank the Tunisian authorities for the enthusiastic welcome they gave me. Discussions with the Tunisian leaders revealed the convergence of viewpoints between the two countries with regard to current issues. We agreed

to work out an official document to raise Tunisian-Bulgarian cooperation to a higher level.

[Question] Did you decide on specific actions to achieve this goal?

[Answer] Actually these discussions are taking place between the leaders of the two parties, but all the same we discussed the possibilities that are available for Tunisian-Bulgarian cooperation. Thus we discussed the exchange of experiences and visits by cadres from the two parties, because we have similar experiences in the area of agricultural development and production. In Bulgaria, we have a substantial stock of experience in irrigation and hydro-electric infrastructure, and we are ready to help Tunisia in the area of aquaculture. In this regard, we are contemplating the creation of joint agro-alimentary companies. On another level, we are interested in the Tunisian experiment in the tourist sector.

[Question] Recently some sources are noting the penalties imposed on Muslims in Bulgaria. What is your comment?

[Answer] We are a socialist state, and Bulgarian citizens, whatever their religion, are all considered on an equal basis. In Bulgaria we have orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics, and Protestants. Muslims have the same rights as these other religious minorities. Our neighbors use international organizations to give a distorted picture of Bulgaria. According to our Turkish neighbors, dozens of identified Muslims have been eliminated by the Bulgarian authorities; this is not true and we have proved that the individuals mentioned are still alive. Of these people, 22 are clerics and about 30 are members of our Agrarian Party. More than 9,000 adherents of our party are Muslims, including 6 who have been elected to the Bulgarian parliament. We believe that we resolved the problem of the emigration of Bulgarian families of Turkish origin when we adopted a joint document during the visit to Bulgaria of General Evran, the Turkish head of state. There is no reason why we should not have good relations with Turkey. Moreover, we are ready to reestablish a dialogue to find solutions to the problems facing us. We worked together with the PSD in receiving a delegation of Tunisian journalists in December, so that they could get a better idea of the real situation of the Muslim population in Bulgaria.

[Question] Is the mediation of the PSD solicited to reestablish a dialogue between Bulgarian and Turkish leaders?

[Answer] The PSD, which has adopted the basic principle and tradition of not interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, advocates continuing the dialogue by all means possible. In the light of this, we have invited Islamic Conference Secretary General Pirzadhen to head a delegation to examine this question in a deeper manner.

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CSO: 4519/51

PLANNING, FINANCE MINISTER DISCUSSES TAX REFORM, FOREIGN DEBT

Tunis DIALOGUE in French 15 Dec 86 pp 24-27

[Interview with Minister of Planning and Finances Ismail Khelil; "Getting to the Bottom of Things with Ismail Khelil"]

[Excerpts] As the year comes to an end, the politician who is drawing all the attention is indisputably the minister of planning and finances. First of all, because as it does each year the country is going through debates on the budget, but especially because all Tunisia has been mobilized to achieve the success of the recovery plan worked out by the Bourguiba government headed by Rachid Sfar, and also to establish a solid basis for the realization of its seventh development plan.

In the context of this pressing situation and despite the enormous amount of work required of Ismail Khelil during this pivotal stage between the two plans, DIALOGUE and especially the minister of planning and finances went to the bottom of things to enlighten Tunisians on the main elements in the upcoming plan, the 1987 budget, the planned tax reform, the new customs policy, and many other interesting questions in the country's financial life.

[Question] Minister Khelil, a question that concerns all Tunisians after the economic stagnation that was noted a few months ago and the recovery program announced in September, is whether we can say on the eve of the new year that things are developing in the best interests of the country?

[Answer] The difficulties faced by the Tunisian economy in 1986, which for the most part were due to external factors, had negative effects as you know on growth and especially on both internal and external financial stability.

These difficulties provided evidence of the existence of financial problems facing the Tunisian economy, and these must be dealt with without delay.

A general, consistent recovery program in this area was adopted last July with the goal of keeping the country out of economic recession which could be produced by a sharp reduction in imports, or insolvency in the event of increased recourse to loans on very unfavorable terms.

This program includes two series of actions: short-range actions to stop the deterioration observed during the first quarter of the year, and

organizational actions aimed at reducing inflexible elements in the economy and strengthening its competitiveness.

The short-term measures that were implemented on the one hand involved strengthening exports by reestablishing the parity of the dinar, and liberalizing imports of primary and semiprocessed products by businesses exporting more than 25 percent of their turnover, and on the other hand, mobilizing additional external resources on favorable terms in such a way as to compensate for the depreciation of resources, and restore balance to public finances and the balance of payments.

Furthermore, the implementation of these short-term measures and particularly having recourse to additional resources made it possible to free up the situation especially as concerns supplying the production system and thus avoiding a stronger decline in growth and serious deterioration in the job market. Dozens of businesses, as a matter of fact, were threatened with virtually having to halt their activities, condemning thousands of workers to unemployment.

Furthermore, these measures, it must be emphasized, constitute a consistent, synchronized program, and because of the medium-term operations it includes--having to do with the liberalization of prices and imports, the development of customs duties, investment procedures, and tax reform--these measures make it possible, beyond their immediate effects, to reduce rigid elements, restore the economy's self-regulating mechanisms, and thereby restore confidence and maintain the economy's fundamental balance. This allows us to go into 1987 under better circumstances.

[Question] The Chamber of Deputies is in the process of discussing the 1987 state budget, which corresponds to the inauguration of the seventh plan and consequently gives an outline of development measures for the next 5 years. In the light of this, could you speak to us of the reforms already introduced and the new spirit which distinguishes the next fiscal year and plan?

[Answer] As you know, 1987 will be the first year the seventh plan will be implemented, and it will indeed reflect the recently approved recovery plan, as well as directions set for the next 5 years.

The plan adopted for achieving this goal attempts to reconcile the essential task of maintaining an outside balance with the need to restore growth and promote the creation of jobs.

This reconciliation will be sought particularly by speeding up exports for which the target is a growth rate of nearly 10 percent at constant prices for products other than energy, and by better control over internal demand--consumption and investment--which is to increase at a rate of about 1.3 percent at constant prices well below the growth rate of the GNP.

Through these trends, the expectation is for a net increase in the growth of the GNP at a 4 percent rate at constant prices compared with a 1 percent drop in 1986, and also improvement in the creation of jobs which should total 40,000 compared with barely 30,000 in 1986.

A certain number of measures affecting the different aspects and areas of economic activity were identified and will be implemented as soon as possible in order to achieve these goals.

To mention only the most important of them, they involve:

--Continuing the process of liberalizing the economy especially with regard to prices, investment, and imports;

--Beginning development of effective protection of the home market;

--Adapting export promotion structures and organizations with respect to the new goals that are being pursued;

--Adopting specific measures to develop exports and jobs.

[Question] During the Franco-Maghrebian finance conference recently held in Tunis, you announced that the government was preparing a far-reaching reform that would modernize the tax system to make it both more equitable and more effective. What directions will this reform take, and can you describe its major elements for us?

[Answer] The tax reform announced by the government is part of the seventh plan, and in fact is meant to modernize the tax system to make it both more effective and simpler to implement, enabling us to achieve greater justice.

This reform, moreover, will contribute to the success of the economic recovery plan based mainly on the promotion of exports by the reduction of the cost of goods and services.

In broad terms, the tax reform is based on the following two main features:

--the implementation of a single tax;

--the introduction of a value-added tax (VAT).

These two taxes constitute the essential elements of direct and indirect taxes considering their general aspect and the amount of budgetary resources they procure.

Thus, taking their specific nature into account, they affect the majority of citizens with respect both to their income and spending.

This twofold aspect is implemented in the present tax system by the presence of direct taxes (scheduled taxes and a general tax: the CPE, the tax on turnover, and indirect taxes).

The planned reform will consist in substituting for these different taxes a single tax on revenue for individuals and a tax on added value for expenditures, at the same time retaining the same tax burden for budgetary reasons.

These goals will be met during the seventh plan.



The process of implementing the single tax was begun during the sixth plan by the progressive reduction of the different rates for the scheduled taxes.

This operation will be continued during the course of the seventh plan so as to achieve a merger of the scheduled taxes and the CPE into a single tax corresponding to the present CPE tax after rearrangement.

The rate for the single tax could be reduced later because of the country's economic development, improvement in the level of declared income by the decline of fraud and by better civic behavior on the part of taxpayers.

The VAT, which involves the normal continuation of taxes on turnover, will be based on the positive features of the present system so as to allow Tunisia to maintain an open tax system for trade with its foreign partners, yet without affecting the behavior of taxpayers or resulting in a substantial increase in consumer prices.

There will therefore by a reduction in the number of tax rates, the extension of the tax's scope to include wholesalers, and the full subtraction of all previously paid taxes, which therefore excludes completely the retention of any residual taxes.

This neutrality will provide a stimulus for exports at a lower cost than our goods and services.

The draft regulation instituting the VAT, already drawn up, will be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies so that it can be published during 1987; its implementation has been set for 1 January 1988.

In conclusion, the reform offers the advantage of retaining a constant overall tax burden which guarantees little variation in the general level of prices.

[Question] Tunisia's credibility, the seriousness evident in its actions, and the influence of its president makes opportunities available for it to borrow both from international finance institutions and friendly countries. However, do you not think that by drawing on foreign loans, the country runs the risk of falling into excessive debt which could surpass its capacity to repay?

[Answer] Tunisia has always been able to control its foreign debt. Just before the sixth plan, the debt represented only 38 percent of the GNP and service on the debt was kept at 13.6 percent of current revenue in foreign currency. Similarly, the makeup of the debt was definitely favorable because the long-term debt represented 63 percent of the total of the debt.

On the other hand, the period of the sixth plan was characterized by a substantial increase in the debt, which more than doubled, totaling nearly 59 percent of the GNP by the end of 1986, and service on the debt represented 25.7 percent of current revenue in foreign currency. At the same time the plan allowed for a debt ratio no greater than 36.7 percent, and service on the debt not exceeding 14.8 percent.

In fact, that we did exceed it was not due to greater recourse than planned to net foreign loans, but rather to fluctuations in the rates of exchange of the main repayment currencies, particularly the dollar, the currency in which 50 percent of the foreign debt is repayable, and the rate at which the parity of the dinar was last set.

In view of this deterioration of the debt situation, it became imperative to opt for a development schema which would give top priority to maintaining a financial balance. This option is reflected in control over national demand with its two constitutive factors, consumption and investment, and the renewed impetus given to exports beginning in 1984, emphasized even more in the recovery plan.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that despite the increased debt, our reputation remains intact. As a matter of fact, the negotiations conducted with international organizations and friendly countries following the adoption of this program resulted within a few months in loans of nearly \$530 million on very favorable terms. Basically, this constitutes a guarantee of the success of the program which obviously demands the increased availability of outside resources to sustain the progressive liberalization of imports and to guarantee adequate supplies for the production system.

But this recourse to foreign loans will not draw the country into excessive debt, because the parameters of the debt should stabilize over the next few years, and even improve when the following three considerations are taken into account:

--Substantial improvement in the structure of the debt by means of greater recourse to loans on concessive terms;

--Renewed growth and the foreseeable rise in exports will be such as to strengthen our capacity to pay for the foreign debt;

--And finally, the sensible use of borrowed resources by limiting this sort of financing to sectors capable of generating an additional influx of foreign currency in the future.

[Question] As regards private savings, the only actions for encouraging businesses seem to be occasional. Is there a medium- and long-term strategy in the government's plans with regard to this vital sector that would promote the recovery of the economy?

[Answer] First of all, we must distinguish between two different concepts of savings. For macroeconomists the term embraces the balance of revenue minus consumption. For financiers, savings cover liquid asset investments with financial institutions and investments in stocks and shares.

Whatever the view in mind, our action to spur investment flows from a consistent policy aimed at developing the country's own capacities to enable it to achieve its economic and social development goals within the framework of an acceptable financial balance.



To mobilize savings, according to the macroeconomic use of the term, from the first years of independence the state has undertaken to acquire the necessary judicial framework and means. Included in this framework are all regulations of a general nature or affecting specific sectors, and that encourage investment. The large number of modifications, amendments, and improvements made to these regulations are not an indication of a haphazard approach as may appear at first sight, but rather of a constant concern to adapt these means to the directions of the different plans, and to the characteristics of each new stage of development.

For financial savings also, our concern is the same. Once again, it is our means and methods that are renewed and enriched as much as possible, as our experience grows. It suffices to point out that in 1962 investment in stocks and shares was the subject of regulations that continue to be adapted to new exigencies. The latest adaptations have to do with raising the proportion of the tax reduction in favor of the agricultural and export sectors in conformity with the priority our current policy gives to these two key sectors.

Also included in this context are the advantages awarded to special savings accounts since 1968, the efforts to diversify financial offerings made to savers, and especially the measures dealing with the restructuring of conditions for remunerating bank savings.

In future, our policy will be based equally on the consistent improvement and enrichment of the means for encouraging investments and savings. As concerns the investment of liquid assets in banks, however, this new stage will be characterized by a new approach awarding a great deal of initiative to the banks themselves. As a matter of fact, the authorities will seek to establish conditions for healthy competition between these institutions by the relative liberalization of their terms of credit and debt. It is expected that the competition that the new environment will certainly create will give rise to initiatives and innovations in savings methods in such a way as to meet all expectations and concerns, and thus to improve the effectiveness of our banking system in mobilizing savings.

Nevertheless, the state will continue to intervene directly to guarantee a minimum return on small savings and to provide them with some tax advantages.

[Question] There is talk of state intervention to rescue public companies in difficulty. However, the concept of companies in difficulty does not seem to have been defined yet, particularly from the judicial point of view. Do you have any comments on this subject?

[Answer] With regard to your excellent question concerning the judicial concept of a state business in difficulty, I may remind you that state companies are subject to the regulations of the trade code, particularly the provisions of article 135 which require the share holding company to take measures towards reorganization if there is a loss of three quarters of the company's capital.

Businesses in the private sector of course respect such provisions. On the other hand, state companies have often taken advantage of their public

character to finance their losses beyond the threshold mentioned above and without paying their taxes and company assessments, all of which constitute infringements of well-defined laws. They also fail to pay their suppliers especially when the latter themselves belong to the public sector. By opting for a policy of turning over to the private sector nonstrategic industries and industries in the competing sector, the first objective is to impose on them management regulations which bring them in line with the private sector, particularly as regards performance.

A first step was made in this direction by article 65 of the budgetary law affecting management in 1983 which conditions against participation in public contracts by requiring that the contractor making a bid produce a certificate justifying the financial statements he has made.

In this way, private, well-managed companies are no longer seeing contracts fraudulently taken by state companies who, knowing that their deficits will be made up by subsidies, arrange the situation so that there can be no fair competition. In this area, as an analogy one can quote the maxim about good money being thrown after bad.

The second objective is to ease up on assistance from the public treasury so that the latter's resources are directed towards the creation of new jobs and no longer towards the artificial maintenance of businesses that normally should either have achieved their own recovery or should fold and leave their part of the market to competent, better motivated developers.

[Question] During a press conference, you referred to the necessity of introducing competition into the Tunisian market in order to improve the quality of our products on the one hand, and on the other to orient them towards the foreign market. To do that, you stressed the need to lighten our system of customs protection. In general terms, what will be the characteristics of this new policy?

[Answer] It is clear that excessive protection such as we now have for industrial products, besides the distortions in the distribution of resources they cause, does not make industry more cost-effective either in the national or in the export market.

Similarly, no protection at all would subject local production to intolerable competition which would not always be economically justified because it would discourage production efforts and would handicap the country's economy.

Thus it is necessary to develop the present system so as to obtain appropriate protection for the economy.

This being the case, there will be a gradual revision of customs duties by raising the minimum rate and simultaneously reducing high rates so that by 1991 we will achieve effective protection, around 25 percent.

In this regard, the first stage that will be introduced as part of the 1987 budget bill will include:

--An increase of the minimum customs duty to 10 percent, which corresponds to nearly 15 percent taking into account the tax on customs formalities;

--A reduction between 1 and 6 points on duties included between the 26 and 56 percent marks;

--A reduction of all high duties to a maximum of 50 percent.

It is certain that this arrangement will result in a loss of revenue for the state budget; we propose compensating for it, at least in part, by introducing a national consumers tax on certain products that at this stage in the country's development we consider nonessential.

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CSO: 4519/51

## RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN NATIONS EXPECTED TO EXPAND

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Jan 87 p 8

[Article by Laszlo Trankovits and Peer Meinert]

[Text]

Every time the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has a summit, there has been the same ritual for years: the condemnation by acclamation of the "Israeli policy of terrorism and liquidation of the Palestinians".

Each time, the OAU promises its "total and effective support" to the fight against Israel and admonishes all members "not to establish or re-establish diplomatic ties with Israel".

But all that could be on the way out. During 1986 Israel opened diplomatic relations with the Ivory Coast and Cameroon and its Prime Minister had a highly publicised summit with the King of Morocco.

The Israelis seem to have made vital progress to end their 13 years of isolation from the African continent and look set to forge a breakthrough in the new year.

"We reckon that in 1987 four more African nations will open diplomatic relations with us," said Mr Benad Avital, director of the Africa section at the Israeli Foreign Ministry.

Israel is placing its bets primarily on a change of heart in Gabon and Togo in West Africa, in the Central African Republic and in Kenya.

The African comeback promises the Israelis advantages at the United Nations where the pro-Palestinian faction has benefited for years from the help of nearly all of Africa's 50 states to vote stinging condemnations of Israel.

In 1973, when the Africans turned their backs on the Israelis en masse in protest at the Yom Kippur War, only South Africa, Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland failed to join in.

The first black nation to make up with Israel was Zaire in 1982. Liberia followed a year later.

At the moment envoys representing Israeli interests are stationed in three more nations that have not yet upgraded relations to the diplomatic level: Ghana, Togo and Kenya.

The major coup for the Israelis was the resumption of their old and friendly links with the Ivory Coast, whose President, Mr Felix Houphouët-Boigny (80), is one of the grand old men of the African independence movement.

The resumption of links with the Israelis has in each case largely been a matter of disappointment with the scale of help these struggling countries have obtained from the Arabs.

When Libya campaigned back in 1973 for African solidarity with the Arab cause, the Arab nations beckoned with development aid and investment cash.

But as a West African diplomat in Addis Ababa said: "We just overestimated the scale of practical help we would get from the Arab brothers." Libya's own actions and bid to expand southwards have also driven the Africans in the other direction.

When Liberian President Samuel Doe made overtures to the Israelis in 1983, many believe he was promised regular Israeli intelligence on Libyan-backed activities in black Africa. Israeli military advisers were also fielded for a period to help Chad a couple of years ago when Libyans and Chadian rebels thrust south.

Demand is especially strong among the black Africans for military expertise and arms that Israel can well provide.

For example, the presidents of Zaire, the Central African Republic and Cameroon are believed to have quietly obtained Israeli help to train their bodyguards. Israeli officials say 10 unspecified black African nations have requested Israeli advice on security matters since 1973.

Even more nations have obtained Israeli arms supplies without heeding their diplomatic coolness to the Jewish state.

When Israel airlifted more than 10 000 Falashas, or black Jews, out of Ethiopia in late 1984 and early 1985 amid the biting famine, sources in Jerusalem said Israel had been shunting military aid to Moscow-aligned Addis Ababa for some time.

In fact Israel never completely pulled out of Africa no matter how much diplomatic stick it was being

given by the Africans in the United Nations. Agriculturists from Tel Aviv, irrigation experts from Israel's Negev Desert and Haifa engineers were hard at work up and down the continent.

They built government office buildings in Nigeria, Nairobi was given an American-style high-rise skyline and in Zaire the Israelis were almost feeding the capital through their aid to a market garden company.

The heady days of the Israeli-African love affair were the 1950s and 60s, but to this day Israeli development aid has the reputation as the best. Israeli President Chaim Herzog proudly announced two years ago that his nation was providing technical and agricultural aid in 23 African nations. Quietly, of course.

Africa experts say Israel's co-operative relations with the South Africans are unlikely to pose a major obstacle to a reconciliation with the black grouping.

OAU conferences continue to denounce "military collaboration" by Israel with Pretoria, but the fact is that most African nations trade with the hated apartheid regime. "The only nations that have made an issue of it are ones that don't want to know us anyway," said Mr Avital. — DPA Features.

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CSO: 4400/120

## COURT PRECEDENT MAY BENEFIT ARAB LOAN APPLICANTS

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 4 Jan 87 p 1

[Article by David Rudge]

[Text]

NAZARETH. - The Housing Ministry is expected to appeal a precedent-setting ruling by the district court here granting an Arab volunteer in the Civil Guard the same mortgage rights as a policeman.

The ruling means the claimant, Nazareth social worker Ibrahim Khouri, is entitled to receive a special Housing Ministry mortgage towards purchasing a home in Upper Nazareth, which is classed as a development town.

The special mortgage for development towns has been available only to demobilized soldiers and their immediate relatives or to those serving in the police or Prisons Service. These requirements in effect have rendered most Arabs ineligible for this particular loan.

Government circles on Friday expressed concern that the ruling could open a flood of similar requests.

They noted that there was nothing to stop others from joining the Civil Guard or becoming special policemen, and then applying for loans to buy homes in development towns like Acre, Upper Nazareth and Ma'alot-Tarshiha, which have mixed Arab-Jewish populations.

"It might even be possible for residents of Arab villages to join Civil Guard units, become special policemen and then apply for loans to buy homes in Safad, Migdal Ha'emek or other Jewish development towns," said one of the sources.

Khouri, head of rehabilitation services in Nazareth, joined the Civil Guard in Upper Nazareth in 1980. He later applied for and was accredited with the status of a special policeman.

In 1981 he applied to the Housing Ministry for a mortgage loan towards buying a home in Upper Nazareth, which was established as a Jewish town.

He was refused on the grounds that he had not served in the army, the police force or Prisons Service.

The 35-year-old father of four appealed to the courts, claiming that as a member of the Civil Guard and with the credentials of a special policeman, he should receive the same privileges as a policeman.

Nazareth district court judge Abed al-Rahman Zuabi on Wednesday granted the request, adding that Khouri was eligible to receive the mortgage loan. He also ordered the Housing Ministry, which had opposed the application, to pay court costs.

Amnon Ashuri, head of the Housing Ministry's department of housing assistance, told *The Jerusalem Post* he had not yet received a copy of the court ruling. "If that was the verdict, then we will have to study the implications very closely," he said.

Other government officials, concerned about the verdict, said the ministry would probably appeal.

Khouri himself, who lives in a rented flat in Upper Nazareth, played down the officials' fears.

"I don't think there are many other people in my situation, although they [the Housing Ministry] realize that the court decision could open the door to other claims," he told *The Post*.

Khouri said he had joined the Civil Guard shortly after moving to Upper Nazareth out of a sense of civic duty. "Bombs do not discriminate between Arabs or Jews and I wanted to do my bit for the security of the area in which I live," he said.

Only later, after his application for a Housing Ministry loan was refused, did he decide to apply to the courts.

"I realize that Upper Nazareth is a predominantly Jewish community and I accept that there should be some separation," he said.

"Nevertheless, I want to live here with my family and I think that in a democratic country like Israel there should be sufficient leeway for exceptional cases like mine.

"I was in a dilemma because I did not want to set a precedent, which others might take advantage of, but in the circumstances I had no choice but to appeal to the courts."

Khouri added that he would submit a new loan application to the Housing Ministry shortly.

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CSO: 4400/120



DELEGATION DISCUSSES TRADE ISSUES WITH LEBANESE

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 2 Jan 87 p 34

[Article: "Jordan Proposes Trade With Lebanon"]

[Text] A delegation representing the Jordanian Agricultural Marketing Company visited the city of Zahlah, met with a number of important commercial figures there, and listened to a complete explanation on why Jordan should begin to import apples again from Lebanon.

A member of the delegation, Mr Mazin 'Abd-al-Qadir explained to the prominent figures of the Zahlah Chamber of Commerce that there had been an increase in the influx of Lebanese agricultural products into the Jordanian market because of their moderate prices, while at the same time, Jordan was no longer able to export its production to the Lebanese market. For this reason, Jordan had decided that Lebanese apples could not enter its territory as long as quantities of an equivalent weight of Jordanian vegetables could not enter Lebanon.

The Lebanese side, represented by the leaders of the Zahlah Chamber of Commerce and Industry, explained the nature of the Lebanese market and how it was a market open to everyone.

He pointed out that the customs tariff on a shipment of vegetables is approximately 300 pounds, or less than 2 Jordanian dinars, while the duty on a Lebanese shipment was 80,000 pounds at the Jordanian border.

The businessmen who attended the meeting expressed their belief that the Lebanese people were unable to buy vegetables imported from Jordan or elsewhere because of the deterioration of their currency and that Arab fraternity calls for facilitating the exportation of Lebanese apples to the Jordanian market.

It is to be noted that Jordan imported 20,000 tons of Lebanese apples this year. There is a large demand for Lebanese apples in the Jordanian market because they are fresh, in contrast to the apples imported from other places, and are cheaper.

An agreement was reached to permit the importation of Lebanese apples on the condition that they meet the well-known international specifications and that Jordan cooperate with Lebanese merchants to market its vegetables itself.

# GIO INVESTMENTS AIM AT STRENGTHENING GULF ECONOMY

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 29 Dec 86 p 16

[Article: "The Gulf Investment Organization Is Participating In a Group of Projects Costing \$3 Billion"]

[Text] By the end of 1986, the Gulf Investment Organization [GIO] will have nearly completed its third year, a year full of activity and accomplishments. Ever since the organization began operations in May 1984, its growth has proceeded at a record rate. It should be mentioned that the GIO was formed by the six member states of the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC], and was the first financial organization to be founded under GCC auspices. The purpose of the GIO is to strengthen cooperation and consolidate economic ties among the GCC countries, as well as to expand the member states' economic base, diversify sources of revenue, and encourage and support private sector investment initiatives throughout the GCC states. The organization's charter lists the various activities it might pursue, such as setting up companies and joint projects in industry, trade, services, agriculture and other sectors, either through investing in their capital or by providing the financing they need, depending on the feasibility of these projects and how well they coincide with the organization's investment policy.

It should be pointed out that the GIO has unparalleled financial resources, since its authorized capital is US\$2.1 billion, of which \$540 million is paid up so far. Its yearly budget figures reflect the rapid increase in the organization's activities; the organization's budget rose from \$475 million at the end of 1984 to \$1.048 billion at the end of 1985. Furthermore, at the close of 1985 the organization had net profits amounting to \$57.2 million.

In another context, we can grasp the extent of the organization's achievements by reviewing the growth in the GIO's various activities. As for direct investment, we find that the organization actively studied an encouraging number of Gulf projects which presented favorable investment opportunities for the GIO to participate in the capital, provide the appropriate financing, and offer suitable advice and financial consultation. As for financial services,

the organization's activities have also expanded, since it has been eager to increase the scope of its activity in world financial markets. It is also making efforts to strengthen and develop securities transactions on the regional level, and to encourage setting up secondary markets to circulate such investment tools.

As confirmation of the GIO's tendency to encourage and develop direct investment opportunities on the GCC level, the organization, from the start, has taken steps to establish a specialized group of technicians practiced in seeking out investment opportunities and evaluating and developing worthwhile economic projects. From the start, this group has been in active contact with GCC authorities, and has been able to establish strong professional relations with private sector organizations and businessmen in order to cooperate and participate in setting up and financing diverse Gulf projects.

So far, the project group has studied 72 projects, 19 of which are still in their preliminary stages, eight of which have reached the detailed study stage, and six of which are in a more advanced stage and which will be approved and contracted very soon. Total investments for the 14 most important projects in which the organization will participate amount to more than \$3 billion.

The projects being reviewed by the organization at the present time cover various economic sectors, such as industry, agriculture and services, as well as projects connected with advanced technology and the energy sectors. These projects are located in various GCC states, and some of them are joint projects between two or more member states.

The agency supervising the development of these projects consists of 20 employees, most of whom have diverse technical specializations in which management experience is combined with skill in selecting investment opportunities. This agency also has ample expertise in the important sectors and industries.

In order to give an idea of the nature of the projects in which the GIO wants to participate at the present time, we will provide a brief summary of the most important such projects.

#### The Aircraft Body Maintenance Project

This project is intended to serve the region's general aviation organizations. It is the latest project in Saudi Arabia's Offset Program, and is expected to be a pilot in this field, since such services have not been available in our area before. This project will help develop a high-tech services sector, a goal which coincides with the organization's goal of transferring advanced technology to the countries of the region.

This project will be built in Saudi Arabia at a total cost of about \$127 million. Participants in this project include the Boeing Industrial Technology Group, Saudi Arabian Airlines, and the National Industrialization Corporation, as well as the GIO.

### The Aircraft Engine Maintenance Project

This is another project in the Saudi Offset Program. It will play a positive role in providing services, especially in maintaining the engines of airplanes belonging to airlines operating in the region, as well as providing maintenance services for military planes. At present, such organizations must go out of the area to obtain these advanced technical services. This project is aimed at transferring advanced technology to the region, in addition to providing indispensable technical services, and it is very important that it be developed and put into operation as quickly as possible. In addition to the GIO, major international companies recognized in this field are also participating, such as General Electric, Saudi Arabian Airlines, and the National Industrialization Corporation. Total costs for the project will be about \$152.5 million.

### The Steel Wire Extrusion Project

This project is intended to produce wire from raw materials to be provided by the iron and steel company in Jubayl, Saudi Arabia. Total costs for this project will be about \$30 million. It will meet part of the local market's needs for steel wire and other steel products for local manufacturing, instead of these items' being imported from abroad. The project will also create job opportunities for Saudi citizens and, since it will rely on the most modern, technical methods of operation, will provide training in new skills. In order to achieve this goal, Saudi Arabia is working with the Swedish Letab Company, which will provide the technical and administrative expertise needed for this project to succeed. The engineering design and construction supervision will be provided by the German Eisenbau Essen Company, which has already made great progress on this project. This project will be built in Saudi Arabia, since the National Industrialization Corporation conceived of the idea.

### The Aluminum Sheet Unit For the Gulf Aluminum Plate-Bending Company

This project is an additional step in achieving vertical integration of the Gulf aluminum industry. Through this project, the GIO means to finance and facilitate the expansion of the existing Bahraini project for producing aluminum sheets from locally-produced aluminum plates.

### The Bahrain Aluminum Company

The services offered by the GIO cover many varied areas, including financial consultation. The Bahraini Aluminum Company (ALBA) is one of the companies which has benefitted from these financial services. Following the organization's recommendations, ALBA has begun a program to expand and update its production capacities. The organization's recommendations included suggestions for reorganizing the financial set-up, so that ALBA can arrange the necessary financing for the expansion program on favorable conditions and at suitable costs for both ALBA and the financing organizations.

### The Steel Mold Production Project

This is one of the important projects which Bahrain has been considering. It will cost a total of \$260 million and is expected to help expand the industrial base of the Gulf region's steel and metallurgical sector. Location is an important factor for this project, since most of its production will be exported to Middle Eastern, Asian and Southern European countries.

This project is attracting the attention of specialized international companies, such as Midrex and Kobe Steel; the latter has expressed its willingness to provide technical expertise and market the project's products.

### The Titanium Dioxide Project

This project will achieve one of the organization's main goals, since it will help diversify the industrial base of the region's countries. The project will produce 4,500 tons a year of titanium dioxide, which is used in the paint, plastics, textiles and paper industries. Approximately 60 percent of its production will be exported to regional and world markets. The project will cost \$140 million, and will probably be built in Saudi Arabia's Yanbu' industrial zone.

Since this project requires outstanding technology and advanced technical expertise, participation by international organizations renowned in this field, such as Bechtel and Kerr-Magee, is imperative. On the local side, the Zamil and the Zaynal groups appear to be the most likely candidates for participation in this project.

### The UAE Dairy Project

The GIO wants to help achieve food security for all the GCC countries by participating in this project, which is intended to meet part of the UAE market's need for dairy products, with help from other investors from GCC countries.

The organization is developing this project in cooperation with the Arab Agricultural Investment and Development Authority and other private sector organizations. Total costs for the project are estimated at about \$30 million.

### The Poultry Stock Breeding Project

By means of this and similar projects, the GIO is contributing to the policy of food security for the region, by achieving vertical integration in this industry. The purpose behind this project is to conduct research and studies into improving and developing the quality of poultry, and then to provide local farms with the roosters they need, instead of importing them from abroad. Overall costs for this project are estimated at close to \$16 million.

Such projects require special expertise and experimental research methods, which will be provided by an international company well-known in this field. Other investors from GCC countries will also take part in the project, which is the first of its kind in the GCC.



### The Qatar Dairy Project

This project is intended to serve the Qatari market and to meet its needs for dairy products. Like other projects in this sector, it is a step towards self-sufficiency in food. The project will produce 5,040 tons of milk and 186 tons of meat a year, and will cost an estimated \$16 million.

At present the Qatari government and the Arab Animal Resources Development Company are participating in this project, and there is a possibility that the GIO will also participate.

### The Seamless Steel Pipe Project

This huge project, proposed for Saudi Arabia's Jubayl industrial zone, is intended to serve the oil industry sector and other Gulf sectors. This project will help establish, strengthen and diversify the region's heavy industry base, in addition to creating many job opportunities and transferring advanced technology.

The GIO is developing this project in cooperation with the Arab Industrial Investment Company and the Saudi National Industrialization Corporation.

### The Joint GCC Electric Grid Project

This project is an important step towards achieving coordination in the joint services and utilities sector among the GCC countries. It is targeted at serving the GCC states by establishing a single electric grid and a unified electric system, thereby achieving monetary savings and more, since it will eliminate duplication of effort and stop the generation of more electricity than is needed. The project will link the GCC countries in two stages, the first to include the northerly countries--Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Qatar, and the second to link the northern area with the countries of the southern area--the Sultanate of Oman and the UAE.

This project will aid the exchange of electricity among the countries of the region. Electricity will be sent from areas having a surplus to areas complaining of a shortage, according to conditions prevailing at the time. This project will cost an estimated \$16 million.

### The Marine Services Project

The GIO, in conjunction with specialized companies, is working to develop a marine services project for maintaining offshore oil fields and drilling platforms. It is also intended to provide supplies and other specialized services by operating ships of various sizes and specifications. The companies involved in this project have been operating in the region for many years and have extensive experience in this field.

The purpose of the project is to unify the efforts of the region's countries in this field, so as to achieve savings in volume and thus realize better use of the region's resources.

AMAL ISSUES STATEMENTS AGAINST AL-QADHDAFI

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 23 Dec 86 p 4

[Article: "AMAL Stresses Commitment to the Iranian Initiative; Haydar: We Had Expected Positions in Keeping with the Danger of Provocations Stirring up Attitudes of Bigotry"]

[Text] The vice chairman of the AMAL movement, Col 'Akif Haydar, has considered that "Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi's attack has removed the masks of hypocrisy and exploitation of circumstances," pointing out that "the calculations in evaluating which forces are hostile, allied or exploitative are now more delicate today."

Haydar reasserted the movement's commitment to the Iranian initiative, imposing "the responsibility for weakening the execution of it on the other party," demanding that the Palestinian Salvation Front be "more effective in action in the field."

Col Haydar made a statement yesterday in which he said:

"First of all, with respect to the vindictive, biased attack which Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi has led against our combative people, asserting, in a manner which leaves no room for doubt, his conspiracy against the Palestinian and Lebanese people through his provocations feeding different forms of factional bigotry, in order to inflame the fighting which is wearing everyone down, we had expected that the leaders and politicians would record a position which was in keeping with the gravity of the conspiracy. It is they who have been accustomed always to appear in the media and give one statement upon another on matters large and small. However, we give thanks to almighty God that this occasion has removed the mask of hypocrisy and exploitation of circumstances for the sake of assaulting national action without effort or merit.

"Our calculations in evaluating which forces are hostile, allied or exploitative are more delicate today, and the latter are becoming more wretched than the hostile ones.

"Second, as the movement repeatedly reaffirms its commitment to the noble Iranian initiative, it has the right to request everyone to say what they



have to say and show a reason for impeding the creation of the sound solutions which every sincere person hopes for, since keeping this oppressive situation as it is is something which cannot last longer than the time needed to eliminate its causes. We impose the responsibility for this debilitation on the other party, and we find that the Salvation Front must be more effective through appropriate activity in the field. We wonder, if the fighting in Maghdushah between the movement and 'Arafat's group resumes, what will be the position of the Salvation Front? Will it commit itself to the camps, support us, or be drawn alongside this magnet which is protected by dollars and evil persons' games?

"Third, if the Palestinians imagine that they can uproot us from our land, there is great danger in this conception, the lion's share of which must befall them. We know the value of land and country. Perhaps they, since 1948, in the overwhelming majority, have not felt as we do, because they were born in Lebanon and have not known the sweet taste of man's connection with his land. They have not seen Haifa, Jaffa, Nazareth and Lydda except in books, while we have lived on the land and have molded ourselves to the soil of Maghdushah, Sidon and Tyre, converse with the orchards and hold dialogue with the sea, the azure of the sky and the tales of the moon.

"Every grain of our soil is in communion with every cell within us. The land lives in the mind and heart, and we live in it as blood that has been spilled, and still is being spilled. We reject the language of threats and deny the forms it takes. However, our human, Islamic, national and domestic responsibility dictates that we give warning and notice. There is a limit to all patience, and there is no tyrant who is not afflicted with that which is more tyrannical."

Salih

'Abd-al-Majid Salih, member of the AMAL movement's political bureau, replied to al-Qadhdhafi's statements and said "This attack and this mobilization reminded us of the Crusader attacks which called for the liberation of the road to Jerusalem."

He said, "We might remind al-Qadhdhafi of his statement to journalists one day that the Shiites alone are the ones who fought Israel and it is Nabih Birri alone who is fighting Israel."

Salih pointed out "The rotten regime is the one which plays the chords of factionalism and from its 'revolutionary' position supports people who surrender to America and bow down to their Israeli masters. The rotten one is the one which has not allowed itself to burst forth, has not permitted the Palestinians a civilian presence and has accused them of selling their land and getting rich at the expense of the cause. The rotten one is the one that is detaining the grandson of al-Husayn, the vanguard of the fighting men of the 20th century, His Eminence Imam al-Sayyid Musa al-Sadr, who taught us that the struggle with Israel is on the basis where Israel is an absolute evil and dealing with it is prohibited. The rotten regime is the one which asked the Palestinians to persevere in Maghdushah and did not ask them to persevere at the time of the invasion and occupation."

He added, "It has been said that the League of Arab States will hold a meeting to discuss the situation in the south of Lebanon. We know the outcome in advance. None of the conferences has liberated a square inch or advanced a single inch toward Palestine. They will condemn the vicious attack on the camps, of course, and will stick their noses into Lebanon, which they have inundated with their tribal wars, in order to seek repose from the burden of liberation. From Chedli Klibi, the first Arab in the Arab League, half of which has become Hebrew in affinity, we wish to take people to account and wish that that you will take people to account and question, first of all the Sudan, about the Falasha and the air bridge which took them to Israel, and to have this action considered part of the core of the league's charter. We wish that you will ask Morocco and the chairman of the committee on the liberation of Jerusalem the reason for the visit by Peres to Morocco and what he did with Hassan the Second. Is this something that entails a violation of the league's resolutions or not? We wish you would ask Abu 'Ammar why he assigned al-Darawisi to contact Peres, and why he sent his delegation to Bucharest to meet with the progressive and left-wing Zionist Jews, by his categorization. We wish you to ask Husni Mubarak why the star of David is fluttering in the skies of Cairo -- or does the matter not concern you? We wish to ask Tunisia, which bombarded the Palestinians and told them 'Your presence has become unsafe for our territory, and we advise you to leave in 12 hours.' We wish you to ask about the functional subdivision in Jordan between King Husayn and Israel. We wish you to ask also about the secret contacts and the secret cooperation between most Arab regimes and Israel. As for the south, its luck and its ability to fight alone in the time of the Americanized robes and henchmen, the south, which has made the sacrifices that you have not, has had enough of conspiracies and the commission of murder on the part of deviant fighting men who are seeking a canton which will be an alternative to Palestine."

#### The Information Office

The AMAL movement's central information office replied to the cable the secretary general of the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Dr George Habash, sent to Col al-Qadhdhafi. It wondered, "How can the historic Palestinian leaders fall into the vindictive factional and sectarian swamp, within one's own sight? How can notions and ideological premises diminish a political symbol who began his political life as a great advocate of Arab nationalism, and then shifted to the horizon and the 'internationalist notion' and after a while could not infringe upon a provocateur and praise the words of a vindictive person whose revenge has been denied?"

He added, "The strange thing is how some people should diminish themselves to infringe upon very small people who deny their lengthy history and intentionally or unintentionally show the emptiness of their thinking and the shallowness of their ideas and platforms."

He pointed out, "Habash is the first person to have fallen in the latest war of the camps. This 'wise man' did not want to remain alienated from 'Arafat and his deviant platform. Indeed, he insisted on sliding into the position which his front kept condemning, indeed fighting, for many years. His forces led the attack on Maghdushah, and he made himself succumb to three fatal

errors. The first error was the failure of the attack from the military standpoint. The second was the deepening of the rift between the masses of the south and the Palestinian organizations. The third was 'Arafat's success in reaping the fruits of this attack by remaining in Maghdushah, and the attempt to impose himself on the Lebanese scene at the expense of the 'Salvation Front' itself and work to return to the stage before 1982."

He continued, "We do not know, after all this, why Habash insists on persisting with his erroneous platform, on creating more causes for rift between the Lebanese and Palestinian people and on creating more tragedies and disasters for the Palestinian people. We know, as Habash himself knows, that many Palestinian military personnel have fallen on the land of Maghdushah, and dozens of armed Palestinian men and hundreds of wounded persons have fallen in this battle. What is the result?"

He wondered, "What will Habash and other Palestinian leaders tell the Palestinian people? What is the victory that he has won in the military and political context? The Palestinian people must ask them what we have gained and what we have reaped from this platform. Hasn't this consisted of more setbacks and tragedies in Maghdushah, al-Burj, Shatila and al-Rashidiyah? Where is the so-called victory? Will it be a basis in Maghdushah? A final word: al-Qadhdhafi, in pushing you to fight with the AMAL movement, seeks your annihilation and nothing else. Beware of this madman."

11887

CSO: 4404/186

NASIRIST ORGANIZATION CALLS FOR SYRIAN-BACKED TRUCE

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 28 Dec 86 p 3

[Article: "The Nasirist People's [Organization] Calls for a Halt to the Bloodletting: Any Resolution to the War of the Camps Which Syria Does Not Supervise Will Remain Temporary"]

[Text] The Nasirist People's Organization warned that any final resolution to the war in the camps which Syria does not supervise will remain transitory and temporary and that any resolution to Maghdushah which does not take the return of its people into consideration cannot be a just one. It called for the exertion of all efforts to restore unity to the national struggle which brings together the Lebanese national and Palestinian causes.

The Nasirist People's Organization yesterday issued the following statement on the war of the camps:

"The continuation of the war of the camps between the people of the united cause and nation, which has not yet calmed down and to which a limit has not been placed, constitutes a great threat to the course of the Lebanese national resistance, which is trying to regain the territory and crush the occupation, and to the Palestine cause and its masses, and is opening the road wide to the success of the Zionist enemy's scheme, which is aimed at fragmenting our national and Islamic arena, in the desire to create factional and sectarian entities and cantons fighting among themselves rather than the enemy, and in service to him, turning them into security belts to be added to the occupation forces' border strip, a matter which reflects itself negatively on the overall Arab national and Lebanese domestic struggle, specifically its effort to sanctify the Arabhood of Lebanon, unify it and liberate the south of it. It also is turning them into a poisoned dagger in the side of the fraternal nation of Syria, weakening it in its confrontation with the plans of imperialist Zionist capitulation and obstructing its great effort on behalf of unifying Lebanon, causing peace to reign in its various sections and building it on the bases of justice, nationalism and Arabhood, on the ruins of the factional and sectarian ideological premises, notions and plans which are the other face of the forces and plans of capitulation.

"In addition to that, the continuation of this diversionary war is prompting the Palestine cause, the Arabs' central cause, to adopt factional and

sectarian notions, negating its national character of enmity to imperialism and Zionism.

"Because we are totally aware of this, we have sought and are continuing to seek to stop this serious bloodletting, which serves the Zionist enemy alone and diverts us all from fighting him and resisting him, and we have treated all forms of mediation and contacts in a positive manner, out of concern to restore unity to the ranks and the fighting men and redirect them toward the enemy and his agents. Therefore we reassert the following fixed principles:

"1. The Nasirist People's Organization participates in and supports any solution which will have the effect of bringing in new Arab and Islamic blood, because this blood is being wasted on matters which do not concern it and great effort is required so that it may be preserved and spent anew in the proper place, confronting the enemy and his agents.

"2. Any resolution to Maghdushah which does not take into account the return of its people cannot be a just one, and will consequently bring us into the Zionist plan, which has the goal of creating a process of factional and sectarian differentiation on the Lebanese stage. In this case, we will all be the instrument of this plan, whether or not we are aware of it, whether or not we intend to.

"3. The Arab-Syrian role is basic in arriving at a final resolution regarding the war of the camps. Any resolution which the fraternal country of Syria does not supervise and support will remain momentary and temporary, and nothing more, and subject to collapse, notwithstanding our great appreciation of the sincere role the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Libyan Jamahiriyah and the Republic of Algeria are performing.

"As we stress these fixed principles, we call on everyone, Lebanese and Palestinian, to exert every possible effort and offer every facility and concession as well for the sake of restoring unity to the national struggle which brings the two Lebanese national and Palestinian struggles together with the fraternal country of Syria, the gateway and entree to any resolution to our wars and the hinterland on which the Arab nation relies in its struggle on behalf of building its unity and achieving its liberation, independence and sovereignty over the territory and resources."

11887

CSO: 4404/185



GENERAL REVIEWS THESIS ON DETERRENT FORCES

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 28 Dec 86 p 7

[Article: "Doctorat D'Etat in Law for Fu'ad 'Awn: The Arab Deterrent Forces and Their Role in Lebanon"]

[Text] The Faculty of Law and Political Science at the Lebanese University, Branch Two, gave Army Staff Brig Gen Fu'ad 'Awn the degree of doctorat d'etat in law with a good rating yesterday for a thesis titled "The Arab Deterrent Forces and their Role in Lebanon." In the thesis he referred to these forces' failure to carry out their task, stressing the necessity that "the League of Arab States draw from this experience, study the causes which led to failure, set forth solutions and draw up the frameworks which will guarantee that their future experiences are made to succeed."

A committee consisting of Drs Iskandar Fayyad (chairman) and Maurice Nasr and Nadi Tayyan (members) discussed the thesis in the presence of the minister of defense, [former] Premier 'Adil 'Usayran, Deputy Edmond Rizq, the commander of the army Gen Michel 'Awn, the director of intelligence in the army, Col Simon Qasis, former minister Fu'ad Butrus, the chairman of the Lawyers' Union, 'Isam Karam, the dean of the Faculty of Law, Dr Muhammad al-Majdhub, and a large group of officers and interested persons.

'Awn (the first officer in the army to receive a doctorate in law) laid the groundwork for his thesis with an introduction in which he presented the subject of the thesis and said, "The subject of the thesis is 'the Arab security forces and their role in Lebanon.' It includes a study and definition of these forces' legal status and a discussion of the legality of the role they played in Lebanon during the period of their presence."

The Arab security forces are the military forces the League of Arab States formed and assigned to carry out the resolutions of the league council and the resolutions of the Riyadh and Cairo summit conferences. They include the token forces that are the subject of League Council Resolutions 3456 dated 9 June 1976 and 3457 dated 10 June 1976 and the supporting or deterrent forces which have been known by the name of the Arab deterrent forces, the subject of the summit resolutions and conference in Riyadh (16-18 October 1976) and the summit conference in Cairo (25-26 October 1976).

'Awn dealt with the subject as follows:

"First, the study of the legal status of the Arab deterrent forces presupposes:

"A study of the political motives and foreign interventions in Lebanon which were the cause of the Lebanese crisis and the motive force behind the formation of the Arab security forces.

"A study of the military condition and status of morale of the Lebanese army before and on the eve of the Lebanese crisis.

"A study of the legal status of the presence of foreign military armies which entered Lebanon before the establishment and formation of the Arab security forces. These are the Palestine Liberation Army and the Syrian army.

"An introductory chapter was devoted to the study and discussion of these points. The basic subject was divided into three parts:

"The first part was devoted to a study of the status of the Arab security forces in light of general international law and was divided into two chapters:

"1. The first chapter dealt with the texts of international law which concern the Arab deterrent forces; these are the charter of the League of Arab States and the treaty of joint defense and economic cooperation among the states of the Arab League. It was necessary to study the Cairo agreement and the annexes to it in terms of the circumstances in which it was signed then its legal worth and substance (the powers of the two parties to the agreement, the legal points it dealt with, the legal status of the Palestinians and their organizations in Lebanon and the legal nature of the agreement).

"2. The second chapter dealt with the extent to which the status of the Arab token and deterrent security forces conformed to the principles prevalent in general international law with respect to token forces. I have studied the circumstances which occurred in conjunction with their establishment and the legal bases of the resolutions of the league council, the formation and activity of the forces and finally the causes of their failure. With respect to the deterrent forces, I have studied the motives and the attendant circumstances of the resolutions of the six-party summit conference in Riyadh, then the motives and atmosphere which dominated the eighth Arab summit conference in Cairo and finally the legal foundations of the resolutions which were issued by the conference.

"The second part dealt with the issue of the Arab security forces and Lebanese legislation. It was divided into two sections:

"1. The first chapter dealt with the legal status of the Arab security forces in the light of Lebanese legislation. With respect to constitutional law, I studied the nature of the agreement which established the Arab deterrent forces and the power of the president, the cabinet, the ministers and the Chamber of Deputies in making, concluding and carrying out treaties, then the legality of the president's order to these forces. With respect to



the penal code and the law on the principles of penal trials and the judiciary organization, I studied the penal power and circumstances of the establishment of the special security court, its areas of competence, its formation and the principles of trials within it, then the constitutionality and legality of this court. With respect to civil law and civil responsibility, I studied the foundations of this responsibility, the status of individual judgment and the manner in which analogous cases were dealt with by the Lebanese government, the United Nations Organization, the League of Arab States and military alliances, then the responsibility of the Lebanese government for the damages arising from the activity of the Arab deterrent forces. With respect to financial and customs laws, I studied the forces' relationship to the Lebanese customs authorities and the law on public accounts, then the constitutionality and legality of the general statute of the special fund for spending on the Arab deterrent forces.

"2. The second chapter dealt with the legality of the performance of the Arab deterrent forces' tasks in the light of Lebanese legislation. It studied the forces' activity in the area of the maintenance of internal security, especially the laws which supervised the security situation upon their entry into Lebanon. It then studied these forces' system of applying the Cairo agreement and the legality of this application. It then studied the execution of the tasks of the Arab deterrent forces in the south of Lebanon in the light of the armistice agreement concluded between Lebanon and Israel. Finally I studied the relationship between the Arab deterrent forces and the Lebanese army.

"The third part dealt with the termination of the Arab deterrent forces and was divided into two chapters:

"1. In the first chapter, I studied the reasons for the elimination of the agreement to establish the Arab deterrent forces through the countries' withdrawal of their units taking part in the forces, through the occurrence of fundamental new events (the Israeli invasion of 1982), then through the failure to renew the effective period of the fund bearing on spending on the forces, and finally through the termination of the task of the forces by the Lebanese government through the amendment and abrogation of the agreement establishing them.

"2. In the final chapter, the legal status of the Syrian forces in Lebanon was studied in the context of the theory of strategic security which the Syrian government raises, then the manner in which this theory was applied in international dealings and finally general international law's position on this theory."

'Awn ended with a summary of the following conclusions and deductions:

The legal status of the establishment and activity of the Arab deterrent forces:

Many imperfections, problems and violations occurred in conjunction with the establishment and activity of the Arab deterrent forces in Lebanon in terms of the lack of respect for general international law and Lebanese legislation. In spite of that, they did not succeed in carrying out their tasks.

### The borrowing of foreign armed forces:

No alien force can take the place of domestic armed forces. Security cannot be borrowed. A country which cannot impose its own legitimate security on its territory and the people who reside on this territory is to be considered diminished in sovereignty. If the government thinks of borrowing security, it must do so from purely international or regional organizations and set out frank, explicit legal stipulations which will define the tasks of these forces, the method for carrying out the tasks and their relationship to the legitimate authorities and domestic institutions, especially those which are normally assigned to maintain security, as well as the determination of their relations with individuals, then the method for terminating these forces' task with emphasis on the acquisition of sure, firm guarantees from neutral international or regional forces.

### Remedying the damages arising from the activities of the borrowed security forces:

The Lebanese government is responsible for all the activities of the Arab security forces to the same extent as it is responsible for the activities which the Lebanese armed forces, in the form of the army and the security forces, perform, and it must declare and bear its responsibility in accordance with the legal stipulations whose execution is in effect, provided that the courts take the initiative of discussing the cases presented to them and exercising the jurisdiction for engaging in conciliation with the damaged parties that refer to it.

### The credibility of the League of Arab States and its ability to find solutions:

The Arab security forces are the executive instrument of the Arab resolution in Lebanon. They failed to carry out their mission and consequently dealt the final blow to the League of Arab States' attempt to find a solution to a complicated problem which it had sought to resolve in its regional context. The league must draw a lesson from this experience, study the reasons which led to its failure, set forth solutions and draw up the frameworks which will guarantee that their future experiences are made to succeed.

In the context of its current charter, the league must establish and stimulate the activity of its institutions, honor the independence, power and regime of each of its countries, take equitable positions regarding every conflict which arises and eliminate the dominance of its institutions by a single country.

[It must] amend the charter in the direction of recognizing a major guiding role for some influential Arab countries and perhaps grant them the right to contest some resolutions (these countries are Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia), as well as amending the method of voting on resolutions, making them binding, and, finally, forming a nucleus or personnel for permanent Arab security forces which member countries, which preferably would not be influential countries, would offer.

CHRISTIANS FACE CRITICAL SITUATION IN COUNTRY

Luxemburg LUXEMBOURG WORT in French 12 Nov 86 p 16

[Address by Father Antoine Gemayel to the Congress of the International Catholic Press Union held in New Delhi, 21-25 October 1986]

[Text] We all know the marvelous picture of Lebanon, mentioned in the "Song of Songs": "Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee. Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon." (Song of Solomon, Chapter 4, Verse 8).

Unfortunately, this beautiful picture of Lebanon, which is compared to the image of the fiancée of Christ, is now disfigured by war, destruction, massacres, kidnappings, explosions, sharpshooters, the destruction of villages, houses, and churches, and by the sufferings of thousands of displaced persons who have lost everything, except their faith in God and in their country.

This small country of 10,452 square kilometers has a little more than 3 million inhabitants, 51 percent of whom are Christians; 49 percent are Muslims (Sunnites, Shi'ites, and Druzes); and a small Jewish community. About 67 percent of the Christians are Catholics, and the Maronites are the largest group among the Catholics. The country has lived in a state of war for the past 12 years, and the Catholic Church in Lebanon, which goes back to the time of St. Peter, is a Mother Church which originated in Antioch. The church laments with Jeremiah: "My grief is incurable, my heart within me is faint. Listen! the cry of the daughter of my people, far and wide in the land! Is the Lord no longer in (Lebanon), is her king no longer in her midst? The harvest is passed, the summer is at an end. I am broken by the ruins of the daughter of my people. I am disconsolate; horror has seized me." (Jeremiah: "Chapter 8, Verses 18-21)

This Christian church in distress is a complex of 11 rites or communities, six of which are Catholic and five are non-Catholic. Throughout history all Christians persecuted in the Near East have come to Lebanon to seek refuge and freedom, because this small country is characterized by its hospitality and its freedom!

It is the only one among the 23 Arab countries to have a free political system. Lebanon, which gave the alphabet to humanity, is a sanctified land. Christ made several trips there and performed several miracles. For example, let us recall the Canaanite woman (Matthew, Chapter 15, Verses 21-28). It is the cradle of Christianity, and the apostles began their preaching there.

The Catholic Church in Lebanon includes:

<u>Rite</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage of Catholics</u>	<u>Percentage of Christians</u>
Maronites	800,000	75.0	50.00
Greek Rite Catholics	225,000	21.1	14.00
Armenian Rite Catholics	25,000	2.34	1.56
Syrian Rite Catholics	7,000	0.65	0.44
Chaldean Rite Catholics	5,000	0.46	0.31
Latin Rite Catholics	4,000	0.37	0.25
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>1,066,000</b>	<b>100.00</b> [Rounded Off]	<b>67.00</b> [Rounded Off]

The following percentages are in terms of the total population of 3,006,000:

Maronites	800,000	26.61
Greek Rite Catholics	225,000	7.48
Armenian Rite Catholics	25,000	0.83
Syrian Rite Catholics	7,000	0.23
Chaldean Rite Catholics	5,000	0.16
Latin Rite Catholics	4,000	0.13
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>35.44</b>

The leaders of these communities, called patriarchs and bishops, make up the Assembly of Catholic Patriarchs and Bishops in Lebanon.

The Lebanese Bishops Commission for the Social Communications Media (MCS), (of which the Catholic Information Center--CCI--is the working body), comes under the Commission of Bishops.

Non-Catholics, generally called Orthodox Christians, make up the following numbers and percentages:

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentage of Catholics</u>	<u>Percentage of Christians</u>
Greek Orthodox	300,000	28.14	18.78
Armenian Orthodox	170,000	15.95	10.65
Syrian Orthodox	20,000	1.88	1.25
Assyrians	15,000	1.40	0.94
Protestants	25,000	2.35	1.56
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>530,000</b>		<b>33.18</b>

Christians in Lebanon are composed of 1,066,000 Catholics, plus 530,000 Catholics, for a total of 1,596,000.

In terms of the total population they constitute the following numbers and percentages:

Greek Orthodox	300,000	9.98
Armenian Orthodox	170,000	5.65
Syrian Orthodox	20,000	0.66
Assyrians	15,000	0.49
Protestants	25,000	0.83

The Muslim communities include the following numbers and percentages of the total population:

Shi'ites	680,000	22.62
Sunnites	580,000	19.29
Druzes	200,000	6.65
TOTALS	1,460,000	49.00

[Rounded Off]

In this mosaic of rites and beliefs, there are four Lebanese religious orders for men, five Lebanese religious orders for women, and 80 foreign missionary religious working in the hospitals, dispensaries, schools, and social organizations.

These religious orders recruit most of their vocations in Lebanon. In Lebanon there are at present 3,200 priests and religious [men] (0.28 percent of the Catholics) and 3,500 religious [women] (0.30 percent of the Catholics). This is an astonishing figure, compared to the small Christian population.

In comparative terms it is as if France had 112,000 priests and religious [men] and 122,000 religious [women], whereas in fact France has only 36,000 priests and religious [men] and 65,000 religious [women]. However, this is on the basis of a population in France of nearly 40 million baptized Catholics.

Syrian, Greek, Roman, and Arabic cultures meet, encounter, and influence each other mutually in Lebanon. The Catholic Church in Lebanon is different from any other church elsewhere, because it lives this cultural exchange, which enriches and encourages it. There are four living languages in use: Arabic, French, English, and Armenian are widely spoken in Lebanon, in addition to the liturgical languages: Syrian, Latin, and Greek.

In turn, the Lebanese religious orders operate in the course of their missions in the Arab countries, in Africa, in North and South America, in Australia, and in Europe.



The Catholic Church in Lebanon, while essentially a missionary body, at the same time is open to all religious and cultural exchanges. It is a fertile field for ecumenical experiments.

#### Lebanon, Land of Ecumenism and Peaceful Coexistence

Ecumenism in Lebanon is not a proposal or theory. It is practiced in real terms. There is a friendly atmosphere of tolerance between the different communities. Spiritual and theological meetings frequently take place. In the same village or on the same street may be found a Catholic church alongside an Orthodox church. The faithful certainly participate in religious ceremonies of the different sects without any complexes and at times without distinguishing between them, particularly on the occasion of baptisms, weddings, and funerals.

A Christian community also used to live in the same village with a Muslim community, whether Shi'ite, Sunnite, or Druze. On the other hand, it is rarely the case that a Shi'ite community would live in the same village with a Sunnite or Druze community.

The Christians always constitute a factor of understanding and of peaceful coexistence. This cultural, ethical, and religious pluralism is a unique phenomenon in the Near East.

Our Bishops' Commission for the Social Communications Media includes among its members representatives of the Lutherans and of the Bible Society. It collaborates with all communities living in Lebanon, without distinction as to rite, belief, or religion.

#### Tragic Consequences of the War

The war which has raged in Lebanon since 1975 has destroyed half of the potential of the Christians. At present there are 500,000 Christians living as refugees in their own country. They have been driven out of their villages in the North, South, and East of the country by foreign forces, Palestinian and Muslim, moved by Islamic fanaticism and strengthened by the new Shi'ite religious current led by Ayatollah Khomeyni, which has come out of Iran. These refugees live under miserable conditions. They are squeezed together in Eastern Beirut (and some of them in the border area between Lebanon and Israel), in convents, basements, churches, schools, uncompleted buildings or hovels. They live in extreme poverty. There are some who live on the verge of famine. Some 70 percent of the Christian people live in 18 percent of the total area of the country. Imagine 35 million French packed into the Paris area. Some 70 percent of Lebanese territory is occupied by Syrian troops, and 18 percent is occupied by the Israeli Army. About 125,000 Lebanese have died under different conditions brought on by the war: bombing, direct massacres, or car bomb explosions. Among those who have died are 34 priests and religious. I might mention here the case of the martyrdom of Father Nicolas Cluiters, a Dutch Jesuit who took care of three parishes in the Bekaa Valley, a Shi'ite area. He established an orphanage where 90 percent of the children were Muslims. He was kidnapped on 14 March 1985. He was found 2 weeks later,



after he had been killed and his body thrown into a well. The marks of atrocious torture were found on his decaying body.

Father Boutros Sassine is another example. He was 93 years old, blind, and confined to bed. Armed men entered his room in Deir-Achache and slashed his veins until he bled to death on 9 September 1975.

I might also mention the murder of Father Abi-Aki, the director of the Cadmous Institution in Tyre, in an area under the control of Shi'ite militia (Amal and Hisbollah). This martyr was 62 years old. He was forced to get out of his automobile at the entrance to his school and was shot in front of two terror stricken nuns on 25 May 1986.

There are presently 200,000 wounded in the country, some 40,000 of whom will be handicapped for the rest of their lives. We might also mention 25,000 orphans under 16 years of age. Some 202 Christian villages have been sacked, 40 of them razed to the ground with bulldozers. A total of 378 churches, schools, and institutions have been destroyed or burned. In Moukhtara, the area where M. Walid Jumblatt, the Druze leader, lives, there is a collection of church bells of which Jumblatt is arrogantly proud.

The social organizations of the Catholic Church (Caritas and the St. Vincent de Paul Society) and of the Lebanese state (the Red Cross and the Social Development Service), although they are very active, have not been able to meet all of the substantial needs of these refugees.

The figures are enormous, in view of the small number of Christians involved. They show how much the Catholic Church in Lebanon has suffered. Its suffering has been so much greater than the world has heard of in terms of the holocaust of 6 million Jews killed by the Nazis. Everyone is aware of the 800,000 Palestinian refugees and sympathizes with them. However, very few people are aware of the injustice and martyrdom imposed on the Christians of Lebanon.

If a bomb explodes in Paris, Madrid, or Zurich, breaking the windows of a store or injuring a passerby, all of the mass media of the world compete to report the news, to photograph it, to comment on it, and to express their indignation about it. It should also be known that during 1986 there have been 21 explosions in the Christian area of Lebanon which, together with other military operations, resulted in 500 killed and 1,500 wounded. They destroyed homes and buildings worth millions of dollars. Who says anything about it? The Christians of Lebanon feel that they have been forgotten and ignored by the whole world. Is there a conspiracy of silence about these unfortunate people? The late Cardinal Terence Cooke, archbishop of New York, who visited Lebanon twice and became familiar with its problems, cried out: "The sufferings of the Christians of Lebanon are a closely held secret." May these sufferings bring the grace of redemption and reconciliation!

What Do the Christians of Lebanon Want?

First, that the whole world understand the truth and the reality in which they live. Not only are the sufferings of the Christians forgotten. Lebanon is openly accused of being a country of terrorism. Lebanon is not a country of terrorism but rather the victim of terrorism. Everything which is regarded as

acts of terrorism on Lebanese territory or elsewhere has been prepared and planned by foreign hands--Syrian, Iranian, Libyan, or Israeli.

Secondly, the Christians of Lebanon want to receive help to free themselves from the intrusions of foreigners and the pressures they exert. The latter grease the palms of a few local people to carry out their infernal plans. The war in Lebanon is not a civil war or a war between Lebanese Christians and Muslims. The Christians of Lebanon have always lived with all religions in a spirit of peaceful coexistence, and this is the line of conduct which has always been supported by the Vatican. The present war is a war by the Lebanese against foreigners, against the fanaticism of imported Khomeyni Muslim fanaticism. Moderate Lebanese Muslims suffer from this fanatical religious current and want to put an end to it. But they also are not free to act. Let foreign pressure go away, and the Lebanese will know how to reach an understanding with each other.

The Catholic Church in Lebanon is threatened in terms of its very existence. If it should ever disappear, this would be a great loss for the Christians of Lebanon and those of the region. It would also be a great loss for the West, which would lose its roots and could no longer have access to the Holy Land. Since 1860 more than 2 million Christians have been killed in the Near East, not to count the number of victims in Lebanon itself since 1975.

Who could put an end to these tragic massacres if not the West?

The Christians of Lebanon hate war, and if they have to fight, it is to defend themselves, to defend their freedom and their independence. Remember the last document published by the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Christian Freedom and Liberation." This document states: "The fundamental principles of morality should be specially applied in the extreme case of the resort to armed struggle," indicated by the Catholic Church as the ultimate remedy to put an end to an "evident and prolonged tyranny which would seriously attack the fundamental rights of the human person and would dangerously harm the common good of a country."

Well, that is exactly the situation with the Christians in Lebanon.

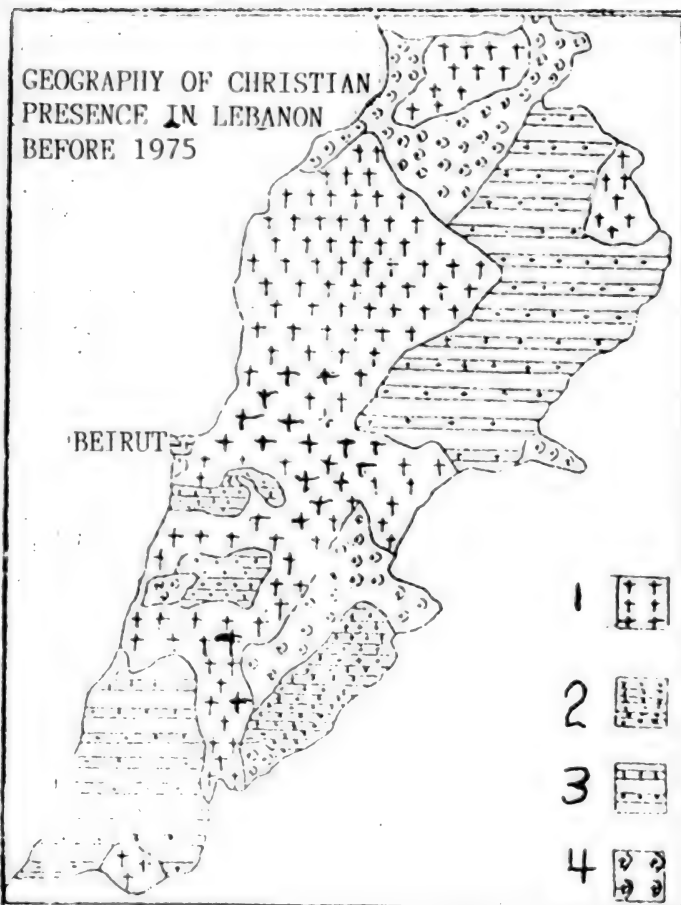
#### Conclusion

The refugees of Lebanon are faced with overwhelming needs. They are hungry. They need material assistance to relieve their hunger and survive, in order to ensure proper education for their children and to provide themselves with decent housing.

However, their great need, their greatest feeling of nostalgia is to return to their villages and homes. They have been uprooted from the homes where they were born.

Dear colleagues, dear friends of the International Catholic Press Union present here. It is a special grace which Almighty God has given me to have the chance to speak before your assembly in the name of my brothers, the Christians of Lebanon, and to describe their situation.

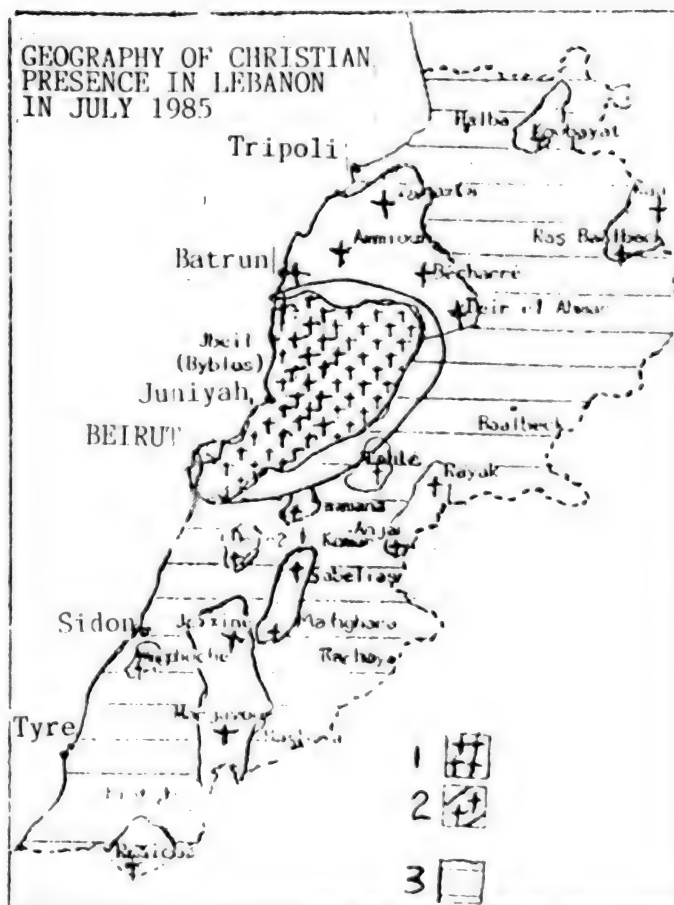
GEOGRAPHY OF CHRISTIAN  
PRESENCE IN LEBANON  
BEFORE 1975



- 1 Predominantly Christian area with Muslim minority
- 2 Predominantly Druze with Christian minority
- 3 Predominantly Shi'ite with Christian minority
- 4 Predominantly Sunnite with Christian minority

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CSO: 4419/1

GEOGRAPHY OF CHRISTIAN  
PRESENCE IN LEBANON  
IN JULY 1985



- 1 Free Christian area (Christians in these areas total 900,000)
- 2 Christian enclave threatened with genocide and dispersal
- 3 Region where Christians have suffered genocide and total dispersal

CONSUMER COOPERATIVE RELEASES DATA ON PRICE EXPLOSION

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 27 Dec 86 p 6

[Article: "The Beirut Cooperative Index in 1986: A 204 Percent Rise in Foodstuffs and Essential Commodities; The Structural Foundations of Society Shaken with Collapse"]

[Text] The prices of foodstuffs and essential and consumer goods in the cooperative society in Beirut registered an increase of 204 percent, comparing the beginning of 1986 with 20 December of the same year.

The cooperative society set out its commodity price index before the end of the year, since it had frozen its prices for a period of a month ending the middle of next January. Consequently, the prices will not change before 15 January 1987.

The index showed that the prices of detergent powders and soap were those which rose the most, recording a rate of 278 percent, followed by milk and dairy products, whose prices rose 233 percent, and then meat and eggs, which recorded 219 percent.

The cooperative index showed that the prices of foreign currencies rose by a rate of 343 percent vis-a-vis the Lebanese pound, comparing the end of 1985 with 20 December of this year. The cooperative attached to its index a statement in which it warned of the total collapse of the structural foundations of Lebanese society in the event the situation continued without treatment.

In the cooperative's statement, it was said, "In the course of the successive events and political and security developments in the country, the economic sectors have been witnessing a state of chaos and confusion the likes of which they have not known in previous years. Adding to the complexity of the situation has been the serious negative reflection of this situation on monetary conditions, especially in the decline of the level of the buying power of Lebanese currency as a result of the inevitable decline in its exchange rate vis-a-vis foreign currencies in a country which relies on imports for most of its consumption. This is something which has created terrible shocks in all economic sectors and classes of the Lebanese people,

which are now in a state which makes it inevitable that the government, regime and cabinet, adopt the appropriate stands and measures to stop this terrifying collapse, whose continuation will lead the country to enter into a dark tunnel of famine. We state with complete frankness that if things are left as they are now, they will bring us to true fear, embodied in the occurrence of a total collapse of the structural foundations of Lebanese society, economically and socially, at which point hope will be lost and disaster will be realized."

The statement continued, "The gist of the general index for the year 1986 has confirmed this painful state of affairs and its astonishing repercussions, since the rate of the rise in prices came to 204 percent at the end of the year (along with an expected continuation of the rise of prices in the first months of 1987) in order that balance may be realized between the prices of commodities and foodstuffs and the rate of the rise in the exchange of foreign currencies (the dollar, the yen and European currencies), which came to 343 percent at the end of 1986, in comparison with the beginning of the year. By way of contribution on its part to informing public opinion, in all its political, economic and social groups, the declaration has been made on the results of the cooperative's index for 1986 bearing on foodstuffs and consumer goods. In calculating it, the following bases were relied on:

First, 71 commodities and foodstuffs basic and necessary to the daily consumption of citizens of all income groups were selected.

Second, these commodities were classified in accordance with seven groups. The basis in defining these was their consumer function.

Third, prices in the cooperative branches (al-Hamra', Verdun, Sabra and Burj Abu Haydar) were investigated. The prices of the first day of 1986 were used as a basis for comparison with prices toward the end of December 1986.

The thrust of the figures in the index manifested itself in accordance with the following:

First, the average rise in prices of foodstuffs and consumer goods toward the end of December 1986 in comparison with the prices on the first day of the same year came to 204 percent.

Second, the prices of 35 commodities increased at rates exceeding the general average.

Third, the prices of 24 commodities increased at rates ranging from 150 percent to the general average. The rates of increase of 12 commodities were below 150 percent, including just three commodities which were lower than 100 percent -- Arab bread, olives and quince jam.

The statement pointed out "Monetary inflation and the tremendous rise in prices in 1986 faced the Beirut cooperative with a great test, concentrated in ways of coping with the severity of inflation and alleviating its pressure on the citizens in accordance with the resources available to it. We can



say that we have maintained credibility in dealings with citizens, since everyone's confidence in the cooperative branches and its pharmacies increased during the two periods of the price freeze over a year and through the extensive import activities which the Beirut cooperatives carried out. It supplied a large group of foodstuffs and basic consumer commodities at low prices. In addition, the most important foodstuffs and pharmaceuticals were made available at a period when some of these materials were absent in most organizations and shops in the capital and suburbs.

The general average rate of increase in prices of essential commodities and foodstuffs consumed by citizens in December 1986, on the basis of the cooperative's index, as compared with prices at the beginning of 1986, for 17 commodities, was:

Category	Average Rate of Increase
Powdered detergents, soap and toilet paper	278
Milk and dairy products	233
Meat, eggs and fish	219
Grains, sugar and rice	203
Vegetables and canned jams	198
Pasta, stimulants and halva	178
Vegetable oil and shortening	172

The general average rise in prices of foodstuffs and consumer goods was 204 percent.

#### Detailed Tables of Consumer Commodities and Their Rate of Increase

Category and Weight	Price on 1 January 1986, Le- banese Pounds	Price on 25 December 1986, Leba- nese Pounds	Increase, Lebanese Pounds	Percent
Milk and Dairy Products				
Nido milk, 2,500 grams	108.25	410.00	301.75	279
Taira milk, 2,270 grams	62.00	224.00	162.00	261
Klim milk, 2,500 grams	97.00	331.00	234.00	241
Ramek cheese, 250 grams	10.00	47.00	37.00	370
Bikun cheese, 225 grams	7.60	28.60	20.90	275
'Aka white cheese, 1,000 grams	26.50	86.00	59.50	224



Hallum cheese, 1,000 grams	52.00	125.00	73.00	140
Qashqawan goat cheese, 1,000 grams	70.00	205.00	135.00	193
Yoghurt, 1,000 grams	16.00	40.00	24.00	150
Total	449.35	1,496.50	1,047.15	233

Average rate of increase, 233 percent.

Powdered detergents, soap  
and toilet paper

Yas detergent, 1,000 grams	11.25	41.50	30.25	269
Bianco detergent, 1,000 grams	10.50	39.00	28.50	271
Aryal detergent, 5,000 grams	113.50	469.00	355.50	313
Persil detergent, 3,000 grams	71.50	337.00	265.50	371
Fim detergent, box	6.75	21.00	14.25	221
Flash detergent, bottle	10.90	34.40	23.60	216
S.'A. White soap, 1,000 grams	19.50	48.50	29.29	149
Mayat soap, 1,000 grams	15.35	41.00	25.65	167
Foreign Fa soap, large size	6.26	32.00	25.75	412
Foreign Camay soap, large size	5.74	19.50	13.75	239
Jibs shaving cream, normal size	5.50	13.50	8.00	145
Biniyal toothpaste, large size	15.50	48.00	32.50	209
Toilet paper, 1,000 grams	21.50	70.00	48.50	225
Sanitary napkins, large bag	25.60	87.50	61.00	230
Walla chamber, large size	21.50	70.00	48.50	225
Total	368.35	1,293	1,021.75	278

Average rate of increase: 278 percent

Meat, eggs and fish

Fresh lamb, 1,000 grams	75.00	275.00	200	267
Fresh veal, 1,000 grams	55.00	175.00	120	218
Frozen ground lamb meat, 1,000 grams	47.00	130.00	83	176
Tarket meat, 340 grams	14.75	53.50	38.75	263
San Bil tuna, 200 grams	12.00	61.50	49.50	412
Moroccan sardines, can	4.75	19.00	14.25	300
Frozen red mullet, 1,000 grams	12.00	61.50	49.50	412
Fresh ordinary chicken, 1,000 grams	26.00	69.00	43	165
Frozen imported chicken, 1,000 grams	23.00	64.00	41	187
White eggs, 30	29.00	75.00	46	158
Total	318.65	1,017	698.26	219

Average rate of increase: 219 percent

Grains, rice and sugar

Rice, 1,000 grams	5.90	16.50	10.60	180
Sugar, 1,000 grams	3.75	16.50	12.75	340
Mashed lentils, 1,000 grams	14.10	45.00	30.90	220
Red lentils, 1,000 grams	15.00	39.00	24.00	160
White beans, 1000 grams	18.00	62.00	44.00	244
Red beans, 1,000 grams	16.00	58.00	42.00	262
Chick peas, 1,000 grams	12.75	30.00	20.00	200
Fava beans, 1,000 grams	10.00	30.00	20.00	200
Burghul, 1,000 grams	7.00	14.00	7.00	100
Total	102.50	311.00	208.50	203

Average rate of increase, 203 percent

Vegetables, canned jams and olives

Shaturah mulukhiyah, large package	10.45	35.00	24.55	235
Shaturah okra, large package	16.50	48.00	31.50	191
Shaturah peas, large package	11.00	30.50	19.50	177
Chick pea tahinah, 3.80-gram [sic] can	6.70	14.50	7.80	116
Tomato paste, 850-gram can	17.00	35.00	18.00	106
Shaturah apricot jam, 1,000-gram can	19.50	49.00	29.50	151
Shaturah quince jam, 1,000-gram can	20.25	40.00	19.75	97
Lanizi honey, large size	51.00	225.00	174.00	341
Preserved green olives, 1,000 grams	20.00	37.00	17.00	85
Total	176.65	526.25	349.60	198

Average rate of increase: 198 percent

Pastas, stimulants and halva

Antonio macaroni, 500 grams	8.00	21.50	13.50	168
Antonio spaghetti, 350 grams	7.75	21.00	13.25	170
Arab bread, 1,000 grams	3.50	6.00	2.50	71
Plain halva, 1,000 grams	19.00	54.50	35.50	187
Aleppo pistachio haiva, 1,000 grams	32.00	73.50	41.50	130
Tahina, 1,000 grams	28.00	72.00	44.00	157
Ground coffeee without cardamum, 1,000 grams	110.00	330.00	220.00	200
Sri Lanka tea, 1,000 grams	48.00	135.00	87.00	181
Total	256.25	713.50	457.25	178

Average rate of increase: 178 percent

Oils, shortening and butter

Olive oil, large can	650.00	1,650.00	1,000.00	154
Mazola oil, 3.7 liters	119.00	425.00	306.00	257
Dulis oil, 3.7 liters	115.00	249.00	134.00	116
French vegetable extract, 3.8 kilograms	133.00	342.00	209.00	157
Helius, 5 pounds	45.50	122.00	76.50	168
Finu, 5 pounds	33.00	118.00	85.00	257
Milk cow, 5 pounds	74.75	236.00	161.25	216
Lurbak butter, pound	16.00	52.00	36.00	225
Butter, 500 grams	21.00	93.50	72.5	345
Total	1,207.25	3,287.50	2,080.25	172

Average rate of increase, 172 percent

Shift in Lebanese Currency Relative to the American Dollar and a Number of Foreign Currencies in 1986

Foreign Currency	Value in Lebanese Currency, End-1985 Closing, Lebanese Piasters	Value in Lebanese Currency, 20 December 1986 Closing, Lebanese Piasters	Amount of Increase, Lebanese Piasters	Percent
American dollar	1,810	6,900	5,090	281
German mark	739	3,450	2,711	367
Thousand Japanese yen	9,025	42,500	33,475	371
Belgian franc	35.75	165	129.25	361
Thousand Italian lira	1,085	4,950	3,865	356
Swiss franc	875	4,100	3,225	368
French franc	240	1,030	790	329
Pound sterling	2,625	9,700	7,075	269
Dutch florin	657	2,920	2,263	344
Danish kroner	202	865	663	328

Average rate of increase in prices of foreign currency: 343 percent.

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CSO: 4404/185

# ANCIENT JUDICIAL SYSTEM REINSTATED

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 2 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by Arif Ali]

[Text]

MUSCAT—Oman is reverting to its old judicial system known as 'Al Bazrah'. Based on collective native wisdom, the system seeks to end frictions and resolve disputes between individuals and parties amicably, to avoid legal wrangles.

Such democratic courts, which date back to ancient times, are going to be reintroduced by the Interior Ministry. The idea is to cool down the tempers of feuding people of the same village and town and provide justice at every step.

Sohar will be the place for the first session of 'Al Bazrah', traditionally to be conducted in a fort by a wali, in this case Shaikh Sultan bin Rashid Al Yaqoubi. He has already notified people to come and present their grievances.

Similar sessions are to be held in Rustaq, Shinas, Barka, Bid Bid and Quriyat forts—on the fourth day of every month.

Assisting the wali at such assemblies will be the deputy wañ, a judge, his deputy, a team of clerks and a claims registrar. Another official will inform people of orders passed after the hearing. He will also be required to summon people who are parties to the dispute and witnesses.

Also present will be the dignitaries of the wilayats to help settle issues amicably, true to the Omani traditions of conducting such matters in an atmosphere free of intimidation.

Should there be no settlement at these 'people's dispute courts', the parties would be free to take recourse at the formal courts of law.

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CSO: 4400/122



## DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ZAWAWI PRESENTS BUDGET OVERVIEW

Dubayy KHALEEL TIMES in English 4 Jan 87 p 11

[Text]

MUSCAT—The state budget approved by His Majesty Sultan Qaboos on Thursday mirrors the aspiration of a nation striving for all-round progress and self-reliance.

Hailing the budget designed to satisfy all developmental requirements of the nation, specially the service sector, the Deputy Prime Minister for Finance and Economy, Qais bin Abdul Munim Al Zawawi, said it envisaged an estimated revenue of RO1,335 million, with the oil income expected to be around RO1,081 million, and an expenditure of 1,610 million. This would leave a deficit of RO275 million.

Out of the total expenditure, RO1,179 million will be recurring expenses, while RO396 million has been set aside for developmental expenses to help continue the march in various fields.

In an interview with the local Arab daily 'Oman,' Mr Zawawi said the approval of the budget by Sultan Qaboos at the beginning of the New Year reflected the country's financial strength despite the ups and downs caused by the world oil market.

The budget, Mr Zawawi said, provided for the diversification of the national resources income and lessening of dependence on oil revenues.

A sum of RO21 million has been allotted for supporting the private sector. This sum will include RO7 million meant to develop the country's industrial sector.

The budget also includes a sum of RO7 million to support the Oman Housing Bank, RO2 million for the Oman Development Bank, and RO5 million for the Oman Agricultural and Fisheries Bank.

Mr Zawawi said the emphasis on developing the industrial, agricultural and fisheries sectors was in keeping with the instructions of Sultan Qaboos, and also signified the role these sectors were set to play in supporting the national economy in the days to come.

Reuter adds: economists in Muscat said the new spending plans represent an effective six per cent cut on last year when the government retrenched about 10 per cent in the wake of falling oil prices.

The cuts had been expected to be more severe, but economists said Oman now appears to be hoping for higher oil revenues following Opec's accord last month to bolster world prices.

Although not a member of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, Oman relies heavily on exports of crude. Oman was forced to rethink its economic planning and adopt austerity measures last year when revenue began to fall sharply.

Oman, currently producing 550,000 barrels per day, has projected oil income of RO1.08 billion for 1987, a rise of nearly 14 per cent over estimated oil earnings last year of RO950 million.

The weak oil price put Oman's budget under severe strain last year and the deficit in the first three quarters totalled RO440.8 million.

The shortfall was partly covered by foreign loans, but the Oman news agency quoted finance ministry Under-Secretary Mohammed bin Musa Al Youssef as saying there would be no new borrowing in 1987.

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CSO: 4400/122

## OIL OUTPUT REDUCED BY 5 PERCENT

Dubayy KHALEEL TIMES in English 16 Jan 87 p 11

[Article by Arif Ali]

[Text]

MUSCAT—Oman will cut its oil output by five per cent from February 1, the Sultanate's Petroleum and Minerals Minister Said bin Ahmed Al Shanfari, said yesterday.

He said Oman would henceforth export only 468,000 barrels. The Sultanate's current oil production was 550,000 barrels a day of which 500,000 was exported. The rest was for local consumption.

The minister said the decision was taken following instructions by His Majesty Sultan Qaboos to work out a reasonable price that would satisfy the interests of both the producer and the consumer. The decision, he said reflected Oman's support for Opec and non-Opec nations out to stabilise prices in the fluctuating world oil market.

The cut, the second in five months, said Mr Shanfari, was based on Oman's belief that non-Opec oil producing countries had a role to play in strengthening the recent Opec agreement.

In September, Oman cut its production by 50,000bpd despite spending a large amount of money on developing existing oil fields and exploring new ones.

For instance, Oman abandoned the Nemr field even after incurring expenditure on its discovery and development.

Mr Shanfari said adding that stability in the oil market was bound to lead to all-round worldwide economic stability.

Talking about the emergency meeting of AGCC oil ministers last week, he said. The AGCC countries had a vital role to play as the fall in oil prices and hit all them. He noted that the meeting made a gesture when in its final document it praised the Sultanate's role in the crisis.

Mr Shanfari said the Sultanate had played a key role in coordinating with six non-oil producing countries—Egypt, Angola, Mexico, Malaysia, Brunei, and Norway. Most of them have agreed with Oman to support Opec.

He also praised Saudi efforts in forging Opec unity.

Reuter adds: Oman's move to cut production follows output curbs announced by Egypt and Norway, two other non-Opec producers. Twelve of the 13 members of Opec agreed in December to cut group oil output by 7.25 per cent in the first half of 1987 and to introduce a fixed price system based around \$18 per barrel.

Iraq, in a dispute over its production quota with Gulf war foe Iran, dissented from the accord.

RIYAD EXHIBITION DISPLAYS ARAB CULTURE IN PARIS

Beirut AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 13 Dec 86 pp 28-31

[Article by Sulayman Nimr: "Riyad in Paris: Arabs Without Bombs"]

[Text] Last Wednesday Paris had one of its most active and crowded days on both the official and popular levels. Officially, there was the Egyptian president, Husni Mubarak's visit. This was the first official visit of an Egyptian president to the French capital at the invitation of the French president. Officially, Paris was occupied with a big strike, which followed student disturbances.

On the popular level, Paris was also busy with preparations for New Year's and Christmas. In the afternoon of that day, Wednesday, explorers of the Champs Elysees were busy with these preparations when they were surprised by dozens of policemen spreading out in the most important and most beautiful street in the world. They stopped the traffic because of the Arab demonstration that was taking place at the end of the street. However, it was an Arab demonstration without bombs and without terrorism. It was a demonstration led by the governor of Riyadh, Prince Salman Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz. President Jacques Chirac participated with him in leading it.

Because the Riyadh exhibition, as Prince Salman said, is an exhibition for all Arabs and not for the Kingdom only, Paris saw who the true Arabs were and acknowledged completely, by the testimony of its leaders, that Arabs are not bomb throwers and that whoever set off bombs in the streets of Paris wanted to harm Arabs. The Arabs brought their civilization to the capital of civilization. They brought their past and their present, their noble past and their advanced and developed present.

The governor of Riyadh, who considered the establishment of the Riyadh exhibition in Paris an Arab achievement, told Arab reporters when he met them that "when we exhibit in Paris our achievements in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, we have the goal of showing our reality as Arabs. We wish the best for us and for the world." Therefore, the exhibition "Riyad Between Yesterday and Today" is an unusual exhibition in unusual times. However, it has come at the right and necessary time. It has come to bring back the French-Arab trust that those who carry bombs had shaken.

The exhibition could have been an ordinary one just like any exhibition held in Paris, which has been named the "City of Exhibitions" in addition to its well-known name of the "City of Light."

French official and media interest could have been limited to the French minister of culture's opening of the exhibition and official duty would have ended. The news of the exhibition could have been carried in the corner of one of the art or cultural pages of the French newspapers and that would have been it.

The exhibition could have been accompanied by a media campaign against it and against Saudi Arabia, especially if it had been successful, just as happened with certain journalists and newspapers hostile to Arabs in London during the Riyadh exhibition's showing there last July.

However, the exhibition "Riyad Between Yesterday and Today" was not an ordinary exhibition, because it brought a city and a country to another city so that it might visit it and host its residents and because it brought the history of the culture of a people and a nation to a cultured people in its historic capital and showed them--the exhibition--the history of this Arab nation stretching back into the depths of time for dozens of centuries when the Arabs were nomadic Beduins and Islam came and spread among them and created with them an age of Islamic culture. The exhibition showed them the history of a country that until 50 years ago was a backward country torn by conflict. A wise and brave man named 'Abd-al-'Aziz came to achieve, by faith and the sword, the unity of his country, establishing the foundations of a state from which its sons took off to become pioneers of science and space.

Thus, France's interest in this exhibition was not ordinary, because French-Saudi relations are not ordinary. Indeed, they are better than exceptional. French interest at the official level was not ordinary but so exceptional that the French government offered Saudi Arabia the hall of Le Grand Palais (the great palace) in which to hold its exhibition. This was done for the first time since it is well-known that the hall of Le Grand Palais is the largest art and cultural exhibition hall in Paris with an area of 12,000 square meters and is set aside exclusively for national cultural and art exhibitions.

The extraordinary official French interest in the Riyadh exhibition was also shown by French President Francois Mitterand's visit to the exhibition last Thursday morning. He toured the various parts of the exhibition with his host, Prince Salman Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz and remembered the historic visit that he made to Saudi Arabia in 1981. The French prime minister, Jacques Chirac, despite his preoccupation with the events of the student disturbances, participated with Prince Salman 'Abd-al-'Aziz in the opening of the exhibition and attended with him the great celebration that took place on this occasion and that lasted 2 and 1/2 hours last Wednesday afternoon.

Because the exhibition was fundamentally an unusual cultural and publicity demonstration held in Paris, French media interest in it was exceptional also. The French media followed the activities of the exhibition with great interest and used the occasion to discuss Saudi Arabs, their present, and their past and participated in the visit that the Saudi ambassador, Jamil al-Hujaylan,

arranged for 24 important French journalists to Saudi Arabia before the opening of the exhibition so that they could see there, in a natural setting, what the exhibition in Paris would reflect.

What also contributed to the French media interest in the Riyadh exhibition was the open-mindedness of Ambassador Hujaylan, who was previously a successful minister of information in his country, toward the press. This was evident in the television interviews that two French television channels held with him. The peak in television interest in the exhibition was reached when the famous television host, Ives [Maurose?], presented a news report of the Riyadh exhibition live and on the day of the opening of the exhibition during the 1:00 p.m. news broadcast, which is the most important daily television news broadcast in France.

### The Opening

Paris, which was preoccupied politically the day of the opening of the Riyadh exhibition with the welcoming of the Egyptian president, Husni Mubarak, and preoccupied domestically with the general strike that the workers and teachers unions and the student unions held because of the student disturbances, was not prevented by this preoccupation from taking an interest, both officially and in the media, in the opening ceremony of the exhibition "Riyad Between Yesterday and Today." The opening ceremony of the exhibition was a Saudi demonstration, led by the Prince of Riyadh, in which the French prime minister, Jacques Chirac, joyfully participated. He addressed his host, Prince Salman, saying: "It is an honor for me, Your Highness, and a great joy also to be here this evening to open this unique exhibition dedicated to your capital, to your past, and to your current reality, which is an illustration of your future.... France truly welcomes you in order to express to you the extent of its esteem and its awareness of your flourishing fascinating city and it sees in this exhibition an instrument to serve a cause dear to you, the continuous strengthening of relations between our two countries.... This beautiful demonstration is an opportunity to communicate the importance of relations between France and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. These relations are based on trust and friendship in all areas and only need to be further developed."

The governor of Riyadh and its admirer addressed his guest, Prime Minister Chirac, and, through him, addressed the French people, saying: "This exhibition includes cultural evidence, which tells the story of the political and social structure that our forefathers established and whose edifice was strengthened by the late King 'Abd-al-'Aziz. It is only a brief resume of the cultural work that has begun, that has been completed, and that has occurred without harming the strength of our attachment to our religion and the social virtues upon which we have established our interaction among ourselves and with others."

### Development of the Exhibition

Just as the city of Riyadh has developed, so has its exhibitions.

It began and took off 15 months ago in Cologne, West Germany. It was an exhibition of a city with its past and present that visits another city.

More than 4 months ago in London, the first development of the exhibition took place... a country and a kingdom visiting the capital of another country.

In Paris, the exhibition was another thing. It was on solid ground...a history and a civilization visiting the capital of history and civilization. In Paris, the Riyadh exhibition was a history and testimony to the civilization, culture, and scientific progress of the Arabs. It records itself on the pages of Paris, about which the governor said "it is a city of cultural radiance, which has contributed to enriching the endeavors of man for the sake of a better world and has always remained an international nation embracing in its spectacular quarters all the endeavors, ideas, and works that man has created."

Therefore, the Riyadh exhibition in Paris has sought to show this capital and its inhabitants how the Saudis are endeavoring to build a better world, starting with their history that stretches back into the roots of the past. Thus, someone entering the exhibit enters into a distant past, into a desert world where the desert is shown with its tents erected and its Beduins who befriend camels, reabs and falcons. Then the visitor enters the recent past of the Arabian Peninsula, where there are mud houses, water wheels, and simple folk handicrafts. Then there is a transformation from one world to another, from the past to the present. The present is reflected in parts of the exhibition that show the visitor, by means of models and pictures, Riyadh's present and the present of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, where there are wide roads, bridges, hospitals, airports, and greenery that has transformed the desert into parks and gardens. Mr Muhammad al-'Utaybi, member of the Riyadh exhibition preparation committee and deputy governor of Riyadh, explained to us the differences that have been introduced to the Paris exhibition. He said: "The Paris exhibition differs from the London exhibition completely in the decor and designs, since many additions and improvements have been made to the contents, which take up more space in the Paris exhibition. It makes better use of the distribution of exhibits and contents and introduces new sections, such as a special wing for the founder of the Kingdom, the late King 'Abd-al-'Aziz, and models of the two palaces, al-Murabba' and al-Ma'mak, which are, as is well-known, the two most famous antiquities in Riyadh. In addition, models of the cities of Salih were added along with three wings for three Saudi cities, Ha'il, Baridah, and Abha. There are wings with markets and folk handicrafts, which have been developed and have been made their true size. There are other additions such as the establishment of a Saudi woman's wing that gives facts about her role in social life and her participation in development projects."

#### The Official Visit of the Governor of Riyadh

The goal of the visit of Riyadh's governor to the French capital was to monitor the preparation of the exhibition "Riyadh Between Yesterday and Today" and to open this exhibition with the French prime minister, Jacques Chirac. However, the French capital changed Prince Salman Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz's visit into an official visit, since this contains many meanings of appreciation not only to Saudi Arabia but also to Prince Salman Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz, whom Paris learned is one of the most important men in the government of the Kingdom. The



governor of Riyadh noted that the transformation of his visit into an official visit was an honor for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The great official French interest in the visit by Riyadh's governor to Paris appeared in a program of this visit which the French capital prepared and which included meetings with important French officials, beginning with President Francois Mitterand and his prime minister, Jacques Chirac, who first met Prince Salman Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz at the dinner party that was held by the Saudi ambassador, Jamil Hujayir, in Paris last Tuesday evening, when Jacques Chirac violated the rules of protocol and attended the party, assuring Prince Salman that "my presence this evening is not for protocol but is rather a visit of friendship to your country and to you personally that comes from the heart."

The French prime minister in turn held a luncheon to honor his guest, Prince Salman Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz, whom he considered not only a guest of the French government but a personal guest as well. The governor of Riyadh also met with the French minister of foreign affairs, Jean Bernard Raymond, at a dinner party that the French minister held Tuesday evening and during which all the manifestations of welcome were displayed in a welcoming speech with which Minister Raymond surprised Prince Salman and in which he praised Saudi policy and relations between Riyadh and Paris. After this speech, the governor of Riyadh improvised a speech in which he stressed the depth of the relations between France and the Kingdom, which the 'great' General Charles De Gaulle and the late King Faysal Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz firmly established. Prince Salman pointed out that the just and wise policy of France toward the crisis in the Middle East and France's international role have contributed to a large degree to the deepening of relations between the two countries.

Despite the fact that the meetings between the governor of Riyadh and French officials were protocol meetings, those who followed these meetings confirmed that Prince Salman certainly discussed, in general terms, certain political issues related to the situation in the Middle East with the French officials with whom he met.

[Box, p 31]

#### Saudi Oger and its Role

During his inspection of the exhibition and his supervision of the preparations and the outfitting and installation operations that the workers undertook for the exhibition, the governor of Riyadh, Prince Salman Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz was eager to praise the role played by the company, Saudi Oger, which was charged with creating all the apparatuses and special structures in the Riyadh exhibition. He indicated that the Saudi Oger Company made the best presentations and was able, through the works that it had carried out under the direction of its engineers, to earn the admiration of everyone who visited the exhibition, and first and foremost, the sponsor of the exhibition, the governor of Riyadh.

What increased Prince Salman Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz's esteem for the role that the Saudi Oger Company played in setting up the exhibition was the fact that it is

a Saudi Arab national company that was truly able to succeed in putting on the biggest and most important exhibition that Paris had witnessed and is similar to French companies, which perhaps--because they are foreign--could not accomplish what the Saudi Oger Company had accomplished, since it was able to convey a true picture of Saudi reality and its past and present. If the Saudi Oger Company was able to set up all the structures, from realistic models to decors, that the exhibition's visitors saw in 10 days, it was because what was accomplished came after studies and plans, the preparation of which took more than 4 months, in cooperation with the Saudi embassy in Paris and the permanent committee of the exhibition "Riyad Between Yesterday and Today."

13292

CSO: 4404/175

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TARIK REVEALS NEW ECONOMIC PLAN

KUWAIT AL-QABAS 10 APRIL 87 Doc 86 p 13

(Article: "Syrian Plan to Fight Bottlenecks: Intensification of the Daily Control Over the Private Sector")

(Text) The Syrian government has put a new economic plan into place to fight bottlenecks in the local market and to achieve a balance between the costs of production on the one hand and prices on the other.

In the province, this plan calls for the stabilization of current prices through various means as the limits they have recently reached and that have come to match the prices prevailing in the neighboring countries.

The plan also prohibits the increase of the prices of production of the institutions of the public sector until after the approval of the relevant agencies of the state, such as the Ministry of Supply, the Higher Agriculture Council, and the Higher Economic Committee.

The plan calls for the intensification of the continuing and daily supervision of the private sector. However, these measures include every case that is not in harmony with the government's specific principles and guidelines concerning price control.

Dr. Salim Haddad, Deputy Prime Minister in economic affairs, explained the goals that Syria plans to achieve in the presence of the members of the Syrian People's Assembly. He said that there were continuous government meetings to find ways and means and necessary measures to address production, guide consumption, and achieve an equilibrium in the economy.

He mentioned that the government had allocated 22 million dollars on the spot to provide many necessary commodities for the citizens. This money has been distributed in the following way: 10 million dollars to the Food Agency, 10 million dollars to the Pharmaceutical Agency, 4 million dollars to the medicine factories, 3 million dollars to the Petroleum Organization, and other amounts to the Ministries of Health, Information, Transportation and others.

He said that these funds were provided additionally and were not included in the figures of the state's general budget, which had previously specified the manner of distribution of investments to all agencies, companies and factories.

With regard to the shortage of both local and imported medicines, the Syrian government has decided to put into effect a series of procedures and measures that will be able, once applied, to solve the medicine crisis at its root.

These measures call attention to the restrictions on the importation of certain categories of basic medicines that the Ministry of Health determines in light of the information that the experts of the World Health Organization give it. Top priority is given to meeting the operational needs of national medicine factories and strengthening coordination among them to fulfill the needs within the framework of the plans designed for them. The joint sector is encouraged to manufacture medicine domestically and first priority is given to providing credit and improving it in order to import primary medicines for local manufacturing within the framework of available resources. Activities are implemented in accordance with the medicine policy of an agency connected with the Ministry of Industry that is charged with production planning, the importation of medicine, its distribution, and its dispensing. The emphasis is on prevention with the goal of achieving the larger economic needs of medical treatment. As much as possible will be done to increase the importation of necessary medicines from socialist countries with quality and inexpensive prices taken into consideration.

#### Agricultural Expansion

Economic observers note that this policy is accompanied by another economic policy that calls for the expansion of agricultural production by means of a new field method. For the first time, the establishment of the Syrian Arab Company for Agriculture, Agrosyr, has been announced in Damascus. This is a Syrian and Arab company with shares and a capital of 500 million Syrian pounds. Shares in the company have been offered to the citizens for sale. The price of each nominal share has been set at 500 Syrian pounds, half of which is to be paid at the time of subscription and the rest to be paid within six months after subscription.

Starting next year, this company will undertake agricultural projects in certain Syrian cities and provinces. These will include projects and agencies for the cultivation of vegetables and pastures for raising cattle and domesticated animals, and others for the cultivation and production of a group of plants of a special economic nature.

The formation of another company, Birka, for agricultural and livestock production has also been announced. Its headquarters will be in Hama, in central Syria, in accordance with a decree issued by the Syrian prime minister.

The capital of the company has been set at 100 million pounds and the number of shares will be 400,000. The price of each share has been set at 250 Syrian pounds, of which 50 percent would be paid at the time of subscription and the

other 50 percent would be paid during the 6 months following the date of the end of the subscription.

The Syrian Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Reform has bought 25 percent of the capital of the company, equalling 100,000 shares. Syrian agencies and agencies from other Arab countries have bought 25 percent of the company's capital.

A Syrian source announced that the aim in founding these companies is to clear the way for national and Arab capital to make unconditional investments in the field of agricultural investment, especially since these two companies guarantee for each stockholder profits on the one hand and a series of customs and tax facilitations on the other.

13295

CSO: 44087/181

# AGRICULTURE, FORESTATION PLANS SET FOR DAR'A, HAMAH PROVINCES

## Hamah Forestation

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 25 Dec 58 p 1

[Article by Mahmud al-Hammud: "2,280 Hectares To Be Afforested in Hamah Province This Year"]

[Text] A tree is a good, growing thing. Planting more fruit and forest trees yields many benefits. Trees stop desert encroachment, stabilize the soil, and prevent erosion. They temper the air and attract rain, provide wood for industrial purposes, increase pasturelands and promote the development of animal resources, and produce many food items.

### The Hamah Forestation Plan

The forestation plan for the current 1966-67 agricultural season includes grading, leveling, excavating and planting trees on 2,280 hectares in sites belonging to the Hamah Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Directorate.

Hamah's Director of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Haytham Abu-Tawq stated that this year's forestation plan covers the following areas: 760 hectares on Jabal Kaytlun in the al-Baladlind area, 110 hectares in several mountainous locations, 80 hectares on Jabal al-Bal'ay, and 990 hectares in the Masyal area.

### Forestation Sites in Hamah Province

The Hamah Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Directorate's forestation sites have been divided into two categories: natural and artificial forestation. Natural forestation is located in the Masyal area. From 1960 to 1965, 1,919 hectares were reforested, and 43 kilometers of service roads and fire lines



were built. There is another natural forestation site on Jabal al-Bal'as, east of Hamah City, which covers several hundred hectares and includes several thousand terebinth and tamarisk trees. During the 1985-86 agricultural season it was decided to reforest this mountain with terebinth seedlings at the rate of 800 hectares each year. As for artificial forestation, from 1978 to 1986 12,059 hectares throughout Hamah Province were artificially afforested with 12 million assorted forest seedlings. The rate of success in artificially forested sites has been from 90 to 95 percent. Service roads and fire lines have been built in these areas.

#### The Forestation Nursery

The yearly plan of the Hamah forestation nursery provides for the production of 1.7 million seedlings as follows: 340,000 ordinary pine seedlings, 210,000 nut-producing pine seedlings, 700,000 assorted cypress seedlings, 200,000 quinine seedlings, 150,000 acacia seedlings, 50,000 caladicia seedlings, 350,000 oleander seedlings, and 150,000 casuarina seedlings. In addition, 75,000 terebinth seedlings were started in the al-Karim nursery, for planting on Jabal al-Bal'as.

#### Protecting the Forest Trees

The afforested sites are being protected by forest rangers, who have nine guard posts throughout the province. The Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Directorate has set up a radio network for communications between the directorate and all the forestation sites, so that any accidents or fires can be reported immediately.

#### Celebrating Arbor Day

In preparation for the thirty-fifth Arbor Day celebration, Hamah Governor Comrade As'ad Mustafa chaired a meeting attended by the province's police commander, the chairman of the branch peasants' bureau, the executive bureau member, agricultural directors from Hamah and al-Ghab, the chairman of the town council, and chairmen of popular organizations. The governor spoke of the economic importance of trees, which indicate how civilized and developed a people are, and stressed the need to hold Arbor Day celebrations. After some discussion, the following decisions were taken.

1. The Arbor Day celebration will be held at a 200-donum site at the southern entrance to Hamah, where 25,000 holes will be dug for trees. Saturday 27 December 1986 has been set as the date of the festival.
2. The Hamah Agricultural Directorate will supply and transport the seedlings, along with whatever is required for the planting.
3. The education directorate was advised to set aside the first period of the day in all the province's schools to explain the benefits of trees.
4. All official departments and popular organizations have been told to take part in the Arbor Day celebrations and to put up the necessary posters.

5. The Revolutionary Youth, the popular organizations, and the party are to take part in planting trees at the following locations: 4,500 donums in the Kaytlun area of al-Salamiyah, 200 donums at the southern entrance to Hamah City, 200 donums at the northern entrance to Hamah, 100 donums west of the Hamah agricultural nursery, 8,000 donums on Jabal al-Bal'as, 9,000 donums in the Masyaf area, and 9,200 donums in the al-Ghab area.

6. All the province's schools and the University City will plant shrubs in their gardens.

7. The Arbor Day celebrations will last 4 days. There will be general festivities on Saturday 27 December 1986. On Sunday 28 December, the province's police command, the teachers' union, and the peasant leagues will plant trees on 200 donums at the northern entrance to Hamah. On Monday 29 December, the labor federation and the artisans' federation will plant trees on 100 donums west of the nursery. On Tuesday 30 December the Revolutionary Youth federation and the student federation will plant trees at Kaytlun, and this work will continue until the area is completed. On Wednesday 31 December, the women's federation and the al-Ba'th Vanguardians will hold a celebration in the station park. Trees will be planted at the province's kindergartens, and garden clubs will plant trees on the National Hospital grounds.

8. The Hamah City Council will plant shrubs along city streets and in the industrial zone.

9. The Hamah Agricultural Directorate is to plant trees along the Hamah-Masyaf highway this season.

10. Arbor Day will be observed in the al-Ghab area in cooperation with the Ba'th Party branch, the district command, and the al-Ghab Utilization Directorate. A schedule of the celebrations will be drawn up, and everything necessary will be provided.

#### Dar'a Agricultural Plans

Damascus TISHA'IN in Arabic 28 Dec 86 p. 1

[Article by Muhammad 'Id Musa: "Applying Law No. 14 In the 1986-87 Agricultural Plan"]

[Text] Party and State authorities are according the utmost importance to plant and animal agricultural production plans in order to achieve self-sufficiency and food security, thus translating into action the decisions of our party congresses and following Comrade Hafiz al-Asad's instructions pertaining to the agricultural issue, and providing full support and concern for the agricultural sector.

Dar'a Province has witnessed outstanding efforts to mobilize all available resources and capabilities to fully implement the agricultural production plans for the 1986-87 season, especially following the heavy rains, the likes of which have not been seen in the province for more than a quarter century.

## Using Every Inch Of Ground

In an interview, Dar'a Province Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Director Engr Ibrahim Qaddah discussed this season's agricultural plan, saying, "Our slogan is 'use every inch of arable land.'" He also cited the efforts made by the directorate, the departments, and the agricultural guidance units, in cooperation with the branch peasants' bureau and the province's peasant organization, towards optimum implementation of the plan on 275,914 hectares of arable land, 9,196 hectares of which are irrigated and 173,653 hectares of which are not.

He added, "The irrigated winter crops in our plan include 3,307 hectares of improved Hawrani wheat, 388 hectares of potatoes, 227 hectares of peas, 93 hectares of early tomatoes, 181 hectares of cauliflower, 181 hectares of cabbage, and 960 hectares of clover, in addition to 115 hectares of cucumbers and early squash.

"The irrigated, intensive cultivation crops consist of 1,773 hectares of tomatoes, 1,014 hectares of tobacco, 817 hectares of maize, 203 hectares of millet, 386 hectares of peppers, eggplant and Jew's mallow [mulukhiyah], 227 hectares of onions, 132 hectares of beans, and 387 hectares of squash and cucumbers.

"The unirrigated winter crops will cover 140,680 hectares as follows: 71,447 hectares of Hawrani wheat, 31,840 hectares of barley, 26,498 hectares of chickpeas, 1,653 hectares of vetch, 1,653 hectares of bitter vetch, 2,968 hectares of chickling vetch, 4,283 hectares of lentils, and 338 hectares of broad beans.

"Unirrigated summer crops will cover 21,611 hectares, including 7,968 hectares of sesame, 3,326 hectares of millet, 4,661 hectares of red watermelon, 4,003 hectares of yellow watermelon, 1,315 hectares of okra, and 238 hectares of cucumbers."

Regarding the guidelines for carrying out the plan, Agricultural Director Engr Ibrahim Qaddah pointed out that Law No. 14, which regulates our country's agriculture, is being applied, as well as the ministerial decree pertaining to the plan's implementation and the agricultural schedule, which begins each August and ends the following February.

Agricultural committees consisting of authorities involved in carrying out the plan have been formed in the various districts and subdistricts.

## Supplying the Plan's Requirements

In connection with this fundamental aspect of the plan's implementation, the Dar'a Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Directorate has sent the ministry a memorandum listing what the plan will need, in light of the dry years the province has experienced recently. The memorandum requested 8,969 tons of seed wheat; about 8,000 tons have already been distributed to farmers by the seed propagation organization, and more wheat seed is still being sifted,

sterilized and distributed so as to meet all the farmers' needs. The memorandum also included a request for 3,184 tons of barley seed, 1,589 tons of chick pea seeds, 1,339 tons of lentil seeds, 66 tons of millet seed, and 970 tons of spring seed potatoes; the rest of the seeds required are available in the province. The agricultural banks are providing loans in cash and kind for the benefit of the plan.

The memorandum also requested that farm tractor tires, veterinary antibiotics and agricultural pesticides be provided, that a marketing plan for the various agricultural products be drawn up along lines favorable to the peasants and to everyone else involved, and that the sale price of Hawrani wheat be raised, since the province is committed to growing it exclusively. Even though this type of wheat is not as productive as the high-yield types, it produces flour well-suited to making doughs.

The memorandum asked that crop and produce prices be announced before the season begins, so as not to disrupt the plan. It also requested that wells be put to full use in irrigating crops and vegetables, and that livestock fodder be provided.

As for planting fruit and forest trees, the agricultural director said, "We are trying to expand our wooded areas, and this year's fruit tree and forestation plan is very ambitious. The province's four agricultural production centers are carrying out their plans for producing fruit and forest tree seedlings, and the greenhouse is producing olive seedlings. In Dar'a Province, 11,322 hectares are planted with fruit trees and 4,689 hectares with forest trees, and as of the end of last year there were 1.3 million olive trees, more than 600,000 of which were bearing fruit.

"This year's fruit tree plan calls for distributing more than 800,000 fruit tree seedlings to subscribers, according to distribution guidelines set down by the branch agricultural council and other committees established for this purpose. This figure includes 277,000 olive seedlings, 343,738 grape vines, 15,000 grafted pear seedlings, 2,000 grafted cherry seedlings, 23,000 grafted peach seedlings, 114,175 grafted plum seedlings, 4,131 damson plum seedlings, 975 quince seedlings, 15,500 pomegranate seedlings, 1,350 fig seedlings, 61,000 assorted citrus seedlings, 10,000 apricot seedlings, 8,270 pistachio seedlings, 12,150 almond seedlings, 5,300 walnut seedlings, 400 mulberry seedlings, and 2,297 loquat seedlings.

"There is a growing tendency in the province to set up modern farms for 'trellised' grapevines, in addition to orchards for various fruit trees.

"More than 1,000 ground water wells have been drilled for private sector agriculture in the province, and dams and water storage networks are being used."

#### Forestation

The province's nurseries have produced 1.85 million forest tree seedlings. During the course of the plan, the agriculture directorate will afforest 4,500 donums of land along the Dar'a-Busra, the Dar'a-Damascus, and the Dar'al-Muzayrib highways, in public parks, and near water sources, and the Jabal Qasyun company will plant trees on 4,000 donums along both sides of the new Dar'a-Damascus international highway.

In light of this year's plan, the agriculture directorate is following up on the planned 3,000-donum stock fruit tree center at 'Ayn-Dhikr, and has asked the Agriculture Ministry to help provide this center with sufficient irrigation water from nearby wells.

This year the directorate, using its heavy equipment, reclaimed 10,642 donums for the fruit tree planting project, 3,730 donums for the green belt project, and 4,500 donums for forest development.

#### The Yarmuk Valley Protected Crops Project

The agricultural production plan includes building and using 158 plastic greenhouses covering 75,840 square meters in the Yarmuk Valley project. These greenhouses have already been planted with early vegetables, and are expected to produce 369 tons of tomatoes, 259 tons of cucumbers, 24 tons of squash, 23 tons of eggplant, 7 tons of peppers, and 4.6 tons of green beans.

#### The al-Shaykh Miskin Production Cooperative Society

The agricultural production cooperative society's project at al-Shaykh Miskin is also being carried out quickly; 4,000 donums have been planted with wheat and 1,000 donums with peas. Summer crops will be planted on the rest of the society's land, which altogether covers more than 10,000 donums.

Furthermore, the Industry Ministry has recently taken an agricultural step above and beyond the province's production plan. Industry Minister Engr 'Ali Tarabulsi held a working meeting with Party Branch Secretary Comrade Jamil Muharib and Dar'a Governor Husayn Hassun, with members of the branch command and officials from the province's agricultural sector and the state organizations subordinate to the Industry Ministry attending as well.

At this meeting, it was proposed that the Industry Ministry plant some vegetables for food processing, as well as devote some acreage to planing medicinal plants.

The provincial authorities approved the Agriculture Ministry's requests, and allocated the necessary land for the current agricultural season.

8559

CSO: 4404/182

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

INTERIOR MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON INTERNAL SITUATION

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 20-26 Dec 86 pp 19-20

[Interview with 'Abdallah Barakat by May 'Abbud: "Yemen Does Not Have a Single Political Prisoner"; in Beirut, date not specified]

[Text] If Yemen is the country of coffee, qat and poetry, it is certainly the country of weapons and sharp daggers tied around the waist as a sign of dignity and manhood, and of rifles, swords and an ever present readiness to defend oneself. Almost every Yemeni household keeps a rifle in addition to the dagger that does not leave the Yemeni's side in all his doings inside and outside the house.

The civil war has consecrated the acquisition of weapons which is considered a necessity like food and drink. But ever since the republic began implanting its concepts and the revolution regaining its positions, the political leadership has been faced with the problem of settling this dilemma. But how? And by what means? Disarmament means dispossessing the Yemeni of a treasured tradition and the retention of arms means recognition of an invisible authority parallel to the state establishment.

This serene and enigmatic Yemen, with all its arms, traditions and people's individualism, is now under the supervision of an interior minister of a new kind. 'Abdallah Barakat is a September revolution officer, about 55 years of age, half of which he spent in underground struggle to stand like others after the revolution in the republicans ranks. Following the revolution, this September officer (as the Free Officers who undertook the 1962 revolution are called), moved to various positions, the most peaceful of which was Damascus where for 4 years he represented his country as ambassador. There he received at his residence and his office the best of Damascus' literary men and poets. From calm diplomacy to the responsibilities of rebuilding the state establishments within Yemen, 'Abdallah Barakat returned to assume the task of his country's security, indeed the highest rank of this function, the Ministry of the Interior. Between diplomacy and the office of the minister of the interior, however, he was able to be a graduate student in Cairo and wrote a dissertation in economics about "Sources of Financing for Social and Economic Development Plans in the YAR."



AL-TADAMUN met with Dr 'Abdallah Barakat in his office located in al-Hasbah area on the San'a airport road. The meeting took place amid his guards and subordinates who, in the evening, shed their military attire to wear the Yemeni native dress with the dagger on their waist and the rifle on their shoulder. I raised with him a set of questions pertaining to economics, social development plans and sources of project financing, all issues he had discussed in his dissertation. Following is the text of the interview.

[Question] I was expecting to find you in the Ministry of Economics or the Ministry of Agriculture in view of your specialization and the efforts you put into the study of the sources of financing for social and economic development plans in Yemen. I was surprised, however, to find you in the Ministry of the Interior which is a whole new world for you, from the diplomacy you had practiced and the academic studies to which you devoted part of your life. How did that happen?

[Answer] I am one of the soldiers of the 1962 September revolution. Consequently, from the outbreak of the revolution up to this day I have been ready to serve it and take on any responsibility it assigns me in any position, be it in diplomacy, economics the interior or security.

[Question] Can you talk about economics and development in Yemen, a subject to which you have devoted part of your life?

[Answer] I leave this to my colleagues who are responsible for agriculture, planning, development and economics. They are now in charge of these matters and therefore I do not have the right to encroach upon their jurisdiction.

[Question] If we want some details about sources of development, does Dr 'Abdallah Barakat not have the right to talk to us about them as an academic student away from his official capacity?

[Answer] I refer you in this regard to my book for which I got my doctorate degree. It has all the details you need and the information in it will be more accurate.

[Question] You mean you prefer to talk about your current jurisdiction which is the interior and security. In this connection, a question occurs to all of us as media people, and perhaps as readers. Is it easy being minister of the interior in a country like Yemen where arms, individualism and tribalism are considered deep-rooted and enduring principles?

[Answer] I would like to emphasize that the widespread notion in the Arab media about tribalism as a synonym for backwardness and rebellion is incorrect. The tribes are civilized by their nature and all of us in Yemen are tribes. Our special makeup for thousands of years has been based on this societal division that bears the peculiarity of the Yemeni societal composition. However, tribalism in our country draws its traditions from Islam and social convention. Despite their isolated existence throughout history in mountains and valleys, Yemeni tribes have been able to organize their lives and create their own special laws that safeguard the fabric of society and organize its relations. Tribes have their own conventions that

have the force of law and are called rules, among them, for example, the seventy rule which means there exists a council comprised of 70 tribal heads and elders who can be consulted and turned to for legal decisions regarding matters of dispute.

When the revolution embarked on the building of state establishments we tried to develop the positive aspects of our traditions and customs, including the tribal ones, and to frame them within the scope of government establishments. We succeeded after some difficulties and triumphs to implant the rules of law in Yemeni society whereby law, order and the constitution have become the arbiter.

[Question] How were you able to build the establishments and what kind of difficulties did you face following a devastating war between monarchists and republicans in which the tribal establishment played an extremely significant role. In other words, how were you able to reunify the people, dress the wounds and establish convincingly the rule of law which applies to everyone?

[Answer] Right after the revolution we began to build the state establishments. Circumstances were difficult during the war between the monarchists and the republicans until reconciliation was effected in 1969. With the onset of the sixties, our basic foundation was to devote ourselves to the founding of the state. But the basic features of this state and its development objective began taking shape with the onset of the 5-year plan, or more accurately, the 3-year development program between 1973 and 1974. When President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih assumed the reigns of power and responsibility, planning and programming in the various fields got underway and the state took on a new dimension. (From that date up until today), we can say that the Yemeni state has been built on new and serious foundations. The late seventies were the most productive years in the life of the revolution. We were able to arrive at the formula for the general popular conference which ratified the national charter which, in the eyes of all Yemenis, is the ideological guide of the political and social life agreed upon by all the people. I say with total conviction that the "charter" stage is one of national unity with all its dimensions.

[Question] Can you explain to us the charter's formula and the nature of the dialogue that preceded and led to it?

[Answer] Fortunately for Yemen, President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, after coming to power, announced to the people our need for a national dialogue as an alternative to conflict. A 50-member dialogue committee representing ideological multilateralism that abounds in the Yemeni arena was formed, a reality we do not deny. The dialogue committee arrived at the initial format of the national charter which it later crystallized and developed and found a formula closer to the many orientations of Yemeni society. Thereupon, a public referendum was held and, in light of its outcome, a popular conference was held to ratify the charter. While the conference was in session, the conferees decided to turn it into a 1,000-member conference wherefrom emanated a 50-member standing committee with 25 additional appointed members, for the political leadership was intent on giving a place to any ideological orientation that failed to win for itself a place on the committee. Our

experience is an attempt to accept ideological diversity that cannot be curtailed in any way, provided that it does not harm national public interest and that loyalty to the Yemeni homeland is paramount.

[Question] Does this mean that this formula created is that of accepting ideological and not organizational multilateralism?

[Answer] Yes, we found the popular conference's formula, after 4 years of experience, to be the best and most suitable for getting out of the cycle of conflict because any organizational multilateralism in a society like ours inevitably leads to conflict. At any rate, I am not qualified to give elaborate answers to these questions for you have the officials of the standing committee and the conference.

[Question] How can you reconcile your being an academician and an economist with your work as the security official? In other words, where does the academician stop and the interior minister begin?

[Answer] It is undoubtedly a difficult equation. But, based on a belief in the necessity to build the country, I accept any position that can contribute to this task. For some time now I have gotten used to dividing and organizing my time in a way that allows me to stay on top of things within the scope of my ministry and to oversee its organization in order to establish security and find enough time to keep up my reading in the area of my specialization.

[Question] As a minister of the interior, how do you view people? Do you consider them guilty until proven otherwise or do you look at this matter differently?

[Answer] I view people as good citizens bound by the national charter because it is the will of the people. Through this vision I rely in my functions on all my country's national and religious customs and my people's culture and on Yemen's law and constitution.

[Question] Does your ministry have any repressive agencies?

[Answer] We do not have repressive agencies and I assure you that Yemen does not have a single political prisoner. People in the streets are well aware of the fact that the interior ministry is not a repressive agency, but rather one whose aim is to establish social peace. I am cooperating with all the colleagues in the council of ministers on how laws should be enacted so as not to effect social peace. On this premise, I am able to walk alone in the streets of Yemeni cities without any bodyguards or police. We are people of one country which we honor and revere.

[Question] Is it easy to keep peace in a country that has as many or perhaps more weapons than people?

[Answer] These conventional weapons are part of the traditions of Yemeni society. But the Yemeni people are civilized and only turn to weapons for self-defense. As for modern weapons, they are banned in principle in major

cities, and in rural areas they are owned for the same purpose as conventional weapons, but this custom is on the wane.

[Question] Has the government attempted to disarm the citizenry, especially since arms have been used in the civil war for various purposes, one of which may have been self-defense?

[Answer] Disarmament requires gradual conviction. We are trying to spread this conviction among the people by constantly assuring them that they no longer need weapons so long as there are stable establishments able to protect and defend them.

12502

CSO: 4404/177

TEHRAN-KARAJ RAIL CONSTRUCTION PLAN BEGINS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Nov 86 pp 1, 19

[Text] The preliminary steps to build the electric, high speed, double-line railroad between Tehran and Karaj began with construction activities and the installation of traffic signs in some of the streets and public places.

According to a KEYHAN report, these lines, which were studied some time ago by officials, have now begun in earnest. These lines extend from Sadeqiyyeh Square, alongside the Tehran-Karaj expressway, to the city limits of Karaj.

According to experts, the construction of the foundation and installation of rails along these lines will be ready in three years. With the installation of locomotives and cars and the operation of transportation trains, a large number of passengers will be transported on the two lines along this route.

The operation of this electric train will significantly reduce passenger transportation problems between Tehran and Karaj. This train will be able to transport more than 600,000 passengers per day at a speed of between 150 and 200 km per hour. Calculating the stopping of the cars at the stations on the way, passengers will reach their destination in an average of 20 minutes.

Also, the stations along these lines will be built based on the number of passengers on the route. Cars will stop a maximum of one minute in stations along the route.

This report indicates that part of the cost for the construction of the high-speed Tehran-Karaj railroad will be assumed by the private sector.

10,000  
CSO: 4640/67

PRODUCTION, EXPORT OF NEW DOMESTIC RENAULT ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Nov 86 p 18

[Interview with Engineer Mansur, general manager of the Saypa factories, by KEYHAN; date and place not specified]

[Text] Economic service. In an exclusive interview with KEYHAN, the general manager of the Saypa factories announced the details of the production of Renaults for export, the level of export of Renaults to various countries, the situation with regard to the production of Nissans, as well as the level of progress in the operation to implement the Nissan pickup truck project, with new quality and style, the creation of a technical training center, the procedures for the distribution of Renault cars in the society, and the implementation of the job classifications plan at Saypa.

The text of the KEYHAN interview with the general manager of Saypa factories is as follows:

KEYHAN: At what level is the export of Renault passenger cars, and with what countries have sales agreements been signed so far?

General Manager of Saypa Factories: Despite the currency shortages imposed on us as a result of the evil practices of the global oppressors and the problems that they have created for the production units of the country, the export activities of the company began, and in this connection we have signed agreements with Turkey and Bulgaria. We have sent some of our obligations and we are now engaged in negotiations to sign final agreements with several European, Asian and African countries.

We have an agreement for the export of 3,000 Renault cars to Turkey and so far, 500 have been shipped. With Bulgaria, we had an agreement for 500 Renaults, which have all been delivered, and we are negotiating their order for next year.



We have signed a sales protocol with Yugoslavia and the agreement is going through the final stages. Meanwhile, we are negotiating with countries in northern Africa and some other Asian and European countries.

KEYHAN: At what price level on the world automobile market are Iranian export Renaults?

[Answer] Of course, the quality of Renaults has increased in the course of over a year. We need high-quality production because we have entered a market in which high quality plays an important role in attracting the world market.

Our export prices conform to the type of market. In some areas, we must invest to enter the market. In other places, the question of service after the sale is important; and other issues affect our prices.

KEYHAN: Is the level of production sufficient, given the marketing that has been done?

[Answer] The personnel of the company are so highly capable that whenever necessary, the level of production can be increased.

At the same time, the official capacity of the factory is 20,000 cars annually, which we can easily increase, with consideration for our needs and in order to fulfill the commitments of the company to domestic and foreign buyers.

KEYHAN: What steps have been taken so far to reduce currency expenditures and produce Renault spare parts and equipment domestically?

[Answer] After the revolution, due to the fact that the future of the company was not clear, unfortunately investments were not made to reduce the amount of imported items that required currency. Since two years ago, when a clear policy was devised for the company, efforts have been made to raise the level of domestic production through economic and technical studies, because in regards to some items, it is not feasible at all to make large investments, because of the small quantity of production. But in regards to items that we were able to produce in the best form domestically, we have taken steps. For this reason, in our new purchasing orders, we will buy 25 percent less in imported items than in the past.

KEYHAN: How much of the Renault parts are procured domestically at the present?

[Answer] At the present, the entire body and the interior of the Renault are produced by Saypa company. Some items which are also manufactured domestically are purchased from other companies, for example, such items as batteries, tires, and glass. Certain items, unfortunately, we have to import from abroad. Of course, we are trying to reduce the import of such items, and thus far, we have brought the import of Renault parts down to 30 percent, whereas it was 55 percent previously.

## Production of 65,000 Nissan Pickup Trucks Annually

KEYHAN: At what stage is the large Nissan production project, and have any changes in quality been projected in the future plans?

[Answer] The Saypa company is studying a large Nissan plan to, alongside its Renault production, be the only unit producing two-ton pickup trucks with one differential and new features.

The power of the new Nissan pickup truck engine will be 2400 cc, with new quality and changes in style.

The final production of Nissan pickup trucks, which will be carried out throughout the country only by the Saypa company, will be 65,000 annually.

Several large factories, including Pars Khodrow, Saypa, and Zamyad, and several ministries will carry out the Nissan project jointly. According to the plan, more than 90 percent of the parts will be produced domestically.

Two years ago, the agreement to manufacture Nissan pickup trucks was signed between Iran and Japan. Thus far, various phases of the plan have been carried out, including the stages of designing, preliminary technical and economic studies and projections. The first phase, which is ready, involves an annual production of 35,000 new Nissan pickup trucks. The expansion plan has been carried out in Saypa factory. The second phase, which is to reach 65,000 units annually, will begin in 1366 [21 March 1987-20 March 1988].

## Creation of Technical Training Centers

KEYHAN: Having good quality in production requires the existence of trained forces with high levels of skill. What programs do you have in the area of training and raising the level of technical skill of company employees?

[Answer] Since 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986], we started the Saypa technical training center for this purpose and invited teachers from the Ministries of Labor and Heavy Industries and the universities to cooperate with us. In this way, training programs were carried out to raise the technical knowledge and skill of all the personnel of the company, from the simple workers to the management level, in addition to other training, such as foreign language training.

At the present, this center is considered to be the most active and largest technical training center, and the training has resulted in Renault having the highest quality among the passenger vehicles in the country, based on the evaluations of the quality control center of the Ministry of Heavy Industries.

In this center, we have various training courses, which are not restricted to the employees of the Saypa company. We have a course for the technical training of employees at the levels of supervisors, foremen, managers and directors. We also have a course for the training of individuals outside the company, from the private sector. Repair shops send their personnel to the

center to participate in various elementary-, middle- and high-level courses, which run between 15 to 45 days, at a cost of about 30,000 rials. Upon completion of the course, participants receive certificates of specialization in such technical fields as electricity and mechanics.

#### Commitments to Deliver Renaults to Applicants

KEYHAN: Considering the pressure imposed on the factory to export Renaults, what will the situation be with regard to the company's commitments to individuals and institutions?

[Answer] The distribution of cars takes place generally in two forms, through public lotteries and through the quotas set for organizations and institutions, who distribute them among their employees.

In regards to the quotas that we have for the organizations and institutions, I must say that last year and this year, we have delivered a proportionate number of cars, according to the determined quotas, but, because of the priority given to currency problems and exports, which are vital issues for the company, since its survival is dependent on acquiring currency for production, from the end of this month, the remainder of the commitments will be postponed for seven months in order to be able to carry out our commitments with regard to the export agreements with other countries.

KEYHAN: Considering that you no longer have any individual commitments, how have new model Renault cars entered the open market and how are they bought and sold?

[Answer] I must point out that until late Aban 1365 [November 1986], we fulfilled our commitments to the organizations. At the same time, we have another kind of sale, which we have in addition to exports to acquire currency, that is, sale to Iranians residing abroad in foreign currency and rials. These individuals are permitted to sell the cars that they receive to others in Iran.

Hence, the new Renault cars on the market come through this channel.

KEYHAN: One of the problems stated by workers is the issue of job classification. What steps have been taken to resolve this problem?

Engineer Mansur: Since four or five years ago, promises were made to the company workers to implement the job classification plan, but, unfortunately, because of discord and lack of coordination, this plan was not carried out. Thank God, with the efforts made, we implemented this plan and it was offered for ratification to the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Heavy Industries, and the organization for the expansion and renovation of Iranian industries. God willing, with their approval, we will be able to render a small service to the company workers in stabilizing their jobs and creating economic and social coordination and fairness in their salary and job ranks.

I ask the authorities to pay more attention to our problems. We are a company that works in the area of exports and is not solely dependent on imported goods, but domestically produced goods as well.

Unfortunately, we have production problems with some of the companies with whom we have agreements and which are not affiliated with the Ministry of Heavy Industries. We hope these problems will be solved, with the support of the officials.

10,000

CSO: 4640/67

ARMENIAN COMMUNITY ASSISTS WAR EFFORTS; KARRUBI LAUDS AID

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 6 Dec 86 p 13

[Text] Ceremonies to present gifts from the Armenian community to the fronts of the imposed war were held in the presence of the representative of the imam in the Shahid Foundation.

Tehran. IRNA

In the ceremonies to present the gifts by the Armenian community of Tehran to the battle fronts, which were held in the afternoon of the day before yesterday in the diocese of the Armenians of Tehran, Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi, the representative of the imam in the Shahid Foundation of the Islamic revolution, emphasizing the need to continue the war until final victory, said: The reason behind the humiliation of the leaders of global heathenism and their disappointment in the fate of the Ba'thist Saddam is the unity of all the strata of our people and their belief and faith in the revolution. This unity is necessary to achieve the sacred goals that we have ahead of us.

According to an IRNA report, in these ceremonies, which were held in the presence of the families of Armenian martyrs and a group of representatives of the Majlis in Sarkis-e Moqaddas Church, first the archbishop, Ardak Manukian, the leader of the Tehran Armenians, spoke, pointing out that Iranian Armenians have been with their Muslim brothers from the first days of the revolution and also in the course of the imposed war. He said: Iranian Armenians have fought alongside their Muslim brothers on the battle front, with all their resources and spiritual and material power. Many times, the assistance of Armenian students and craftsmen to the fronts has been appreciated by the officials.

He added: Young Armenian soldiers, shoulder to shoulder with the soldiers of Islam, stress their old friendship and brotherhood by offering their blood on the fronts.

According to this report, following the speech of the archbishop of the Armenians of Tehran, the chairman of the diocesan council of the Armenians of Tehran also spoke. Emphasizing the continued unity of the Iranian nation to destroy the Ba'thist enemy, he said:

The enemies of Islam do not hesitate at any conspiracy to attack the rights of this nation. With unity and the help of God, all these conspiracies have been neutralized and only humiliation is left for the enemies of our nation.

He then referred to the recent heinous propaganda conspiracy of Italian television and said: This action, which shows the moral and political decadence of our enemies, is condemned by us and by any free human being in the world. In the continuation of the ceremonies, the representative of the Armenians in the north and Tehran in the Majlis said:

Throughout the course of centuries, Armenians have been continually united with the noble nation of Iran and their Muslim brothers and have never hesitated in carrying out their duties.

He added: The imposed war has shown that the Iranian Armenians have not hesitated in giving their blood to defend the Islamic Republic of Iran. The presence of the honored families of the Armenian martyrs, the missing, the prisoners and the disabled under this roof is the best evidence of this claim.

According to IRNA, Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi, the representative of the imam in the Shahid Foundation of the Islamic revolution and deputy speaker of the Majlis, then spoke. Considering the reasons for the victory of Iran in the war and the international scene as well as the reason for the miserable defeat of the enemies of Islam, despite their being armed to the teeth, to be the unity and united belief and faith of the revolutionary people, he added:

The secret of our victory consists of such continual aid to the battle front. It is our people who give up their lives to help the fronts.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi continued: The dignity and independence of our country is the result of this unity and self-sacrifice. The fact is that we will end this imposed war with victory. He then referred to sending Armenian craftsmen and to the continuous help of the Armenians to the fronts and said:

By offering martyrs and wounded, both in the beginning of the revolution and in the imposed war, the Iranian Armenians have indeed invested in this revolution.

The deputy speaker of the Majlis then referred to the misery and humility of the United States and said: It is the unity and the faith of our nation that made the United States and Reagan beg, they who announced in 1359 [21 March 1980-20 March 1981] that they would sever relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran. He added: At the present time, our enemies, the United States and Reagan, believe that nothing can be accomplished in the region against the wishes of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Mr Karrubi expressed hope that the war will end as soon as possible in order for the Armenian craftsmen to engage in eliminating the existing shortages and shortcomings in the country. In conclusion, he referred to the recent conspiracies of the leaders of heathenism against the Islamic Republic of Iran and said:



Recently the propaganda media and the oppressors have conspired to destroy the unity of our people. They consider the arrest of a representative of the Jewish minority as imposing pressure on the minorities of Iran. However, our nation knows the nature of these conspiracies and continues to preserve its unity. He added: This aid, which is given to the fronts with total dignity by the Armenians, shows that the Western propaganda agencies are fabricating nonsense.

According to this report, the gifts of the Armenians were sent to the battle fronts yesterday (Friday), after the Tehran Friday prayer ceremonies.

The gifts of the Armenians include the needs of the fronts as follows:

Ten 2-differential tractors with complete spare parts, 15 automatic and semiautomatic blockbusters, 1 ton of sugar halva, 1,800 pairs of gloves, 5,000 pairs of socks, 4,800 cans of fruit in 100 boxes, and 500 heaters.

10,000

CSO: 4640/66

FORUM BLAMES GOVERNMENT FOR PRESENT POLITICAL UNREST

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 29 Nov 86 pp 1, 12

[Report by Tariq Ismail Sagar on NAWA-I-WAQT symposium comprised of Malik Ghulam Nabi, Allama Mehmood Ahmad Rizvi, Allama Ihsan Ilahi Zahir, Mailk Mairaj Khalid and Malik Mohammad Qasim: "Political Unrest or Subversion?"--date not given]

[Text] Moderator: This symposium has been convened to discuss the unrest, riots, and subversion in the country. You are all aware of the incidents that have occurred in Lahore, Quetta, Karachi, Hyderabad, and Peshawar. What are the causes of these organized incidents of subversion, and what can be done to stop them? Former Education Minister of Punjab Malik Ghulam Nabi will open the discussion on this issue.

Ghulam Nabi: Every concerned individual, especially the political leaders, welcomed martial law when it was first implemented in 1977. The martial law government very cleverly got all the intellectuals on its side. It used the Majlis-e shoora to get the approval of the rest of the people. Steps were taken to make the people forget about being involved in various aspects of politics. All institutions were dismantled, and no political party was left. Now, we have to find a solution to the present situation. I respect the religious scholars greatly, but the way they are using the name of Islam and encouraging religious hatred could put us in a very difficult situation. The fires of factionalism could burn the whole country down. We can fight anything but religion. There is no escape if we once get caught up in religious factionalism. The martial law regime divided the country into factions. The greatest need today is unity. Political elections should be held as soon as possible so a stable government can be established and the present political confusion eliminated. Murder and theft are being committed in broad daylight as a result of specific slogans raised by subversive groups. We have seen the imposition of martial law several times. Ayub Khan imposed it at one time. He did not, however, direct his martial law toward religious fanaticism, i.e., "mullaism." He knew very well that such an action would doom the nation. He had learned the history of Islamic countries well. During the last martial law regime, the raw nerve of the people was touched and religious factionalism encouraged. Only God can help us if new elections are not held soon. One can buy anything from other countries, but one cannot import patriotism and national pride. For God's sake, let us not abuse the name of Islam. Let us involve the people in political action.

Allama Mehmood Ahmad Rizvi: Who is responsible for the present situation in Pakistan? We cannot blame the religious groups. Muslims with differing ideas and beliefs live here. Only God can get them all to believe and follow a specific ideology; it is not possible for man to achieve this. Second, whatever the religion, it becomes the scapegoat, and religious factionalism is accused of whatever problems exist in a country. This is entirely wrong. Can you tell me why you want elections based on political parties? On what basis were the three, five or 10 political parties formed? In what different way do they want elections to be held? On what basis do they want to be members of the majority or opposition in the assemblies? All this is based on differences in philosophy and ideology. Every political party opposes other parties. If we cannot complain about ideological differences in political parties, we have no right to complain about religious differences. If we want to accuse religious groups of factionalism, then we must accuse political parties of the same. This is a fact.

In my humble opinion, religion has nothing to do with the riots in Sarhad (NWFP). No religious factions were involved in the Quetta incidents. Religious groups have nothing to do with the riots in Karachi and Hyderabad. The transportation problem is very serious there. As for the riots in Lahore, we did not expect them. We certainly did not know that those riots would be so widespread. You cannot call these disturbances religious just because the names Shi'a and Sunni were involved. Nobody tried to find out who was behind all these disorders and who fanned the fires of violence. The present need is to help the poor people who lost their homes in the various riots, especially in Lahore. The situation can be improved by helping these people as much as possible. All the acts of violence should be honestly analyzed before accusations are made. I believe that religious and political leaders should visit other provinces and try to calm the people within the sphere of their influence.

Allama Ihsan Ilahi Zahir: I believe that the government is playing a game to stay in power. It is said everywhere that a hidden hand is behind all these activities. The idea that a country cannot operate without the armed forces is being spread. The martial law administration has brought in civilians to share power, but power by nature just cannot be shared. The proponents of the martial law regime are trying to convince the people that the present government has failed to run the country efficiently. You have heard General Zia's statement that he personally does not believe in political government and blaming the civilian sector of the government for the present problems. He had said in the past that there should be no elections and that the armed forces should have a place in the constitution. The Punjab minister of charitable endowments has clearly indicated that the Shi'a and Sunni sects had nothing to do with the riots in Lahore. Cannot a government which is capable of dispersing a whole procession arrest the 40 or 50 troublemakers that started the riots? We all know what all this proves. Lahore's situation did not call for army control. Never in the history of the world has an army chief visited an area where martial law was imposed for a couple of days. If this situation was so grave why was the chief minister of Punjab making

speeches in other cities? Let us look at the incidents in Karachi. Didn't the administration know the route the procession was to follow? It knew that a disciple of G.M. Sayed was involved. G. M. Sayed never tires of singing the praises of General Zia, because he knows that only a martial law regime can help him attain his ugly goals. The chief minister of Sind was also visiting elsewhere when the uproar erupted in Karachi. Now, I would like to make a statement about religion. Factions were there from the very beginning and they will remain until the end. Factionalism and factions are two very different things. Factionalism is born when the government of the time wants it. I am saying openly and clearly, as a religious worker, that regardless of the fire and brimstone a mullah includes in his speech, factionalism results only when the governments wants it. Riots are not caused by our speeches; they occur when a government wants them. The Shariat bill being discussed at present has also caused many problems.

The government has instructed people to start a movement in support of the Shariat bill. We have closed our eyes to these facts. We will be able to see everything if only we open our eyes. Maulana Rizvi and I would be willing to sacrifice our lives for implementation of Shariat rule. We have nothing against Shariat rule, but this bill is being used to make the various groups fight among themselves. The bill also asks for an important role for the army in the constitution, just as in the Turkish constitution. I would like to mention that the present situation in Sind is very similar to the situation in Bangladesh. Let us not delude ourselves. No province head is as unfortunate as one who cannot even ride in a car despite being the chief administrator of the state, its police, and the army! That chief minister cannot even travel 40 miles on a road in his province. Government groups are allowed to pass a barrier only after they repeat the slogan, "Bhuttoism lives!"

Malik Mairaj Khalid: No political party or foreign power is involved in these riots. The country is on the brink of disaster because of the martial law. Allama Mehmood Ahmad Rizvi and Allama Ihsan Ilahi Zahir have explained how religious riots are caused. I would like to discuss this situation from the political and economic points of view. We all know that our country has never faced a situation as grave as it is facing now. The unity and security of our nation are in danger. The country is suffering from unrest and disappointment. Everyone is asking if the federation of provinces called Pakistan will remain. The country united on a national issue when the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] organized rallies all over the country welcoming Benazir Bhutto. The government got worried about losing power because of the national unity. When the MRD decided to hold a big public meeting at Mochi Darwaza in Lahore on 14 August, the Muslim League also decided to hold a meeting without even telling Prime Minister Junejo. President Zia went out of the country. Thinking that these opposing public meetings would result in riots, which would give the government the excuse and opportunity to prove that politicians were not capable of running the country and that armed forces rule was essential. Prime Minister Junejo raised this issue in the federal cabinet, and a heated discussion was held.

All this is public knowledge now. Pir Pagara has accused Chief Minister Nawaz Shareef [of Punjab] of similar negligence. All this has been published in various newspapers. It was decided to postpone the Muslim League meeting. The MRD, however, decided to hold its public meeting. The government ordered implementation of Article 144 [curfew] so there could be some riots. Four persons were killed, and hundreds were wounded and arrested. Between 15 August and 6 September, the MRD organized several peaceful processions. The participants were subjected to violence by the police. We have to praise their patience and forbearance for not retaliating. The government conspiracies failed. The government plan to bring the army to this area and to prove that democracy cannot work here did not work. It was looking for another opportunity, and the month of Moharram provided it.

The MRD decided to suspend its agitation for the month of Moharram. The government, however, still brought in the army. The idea that the army still could be brought in and that the country could not run without the armed forces created a strange psychological mood in the country. All this was done because the MRD and other democratic forces were trying to unite the nation against the present government. The conspiracy was hatched on 12 August 1983 when elections were called without the involvement of political parties. This was to keep people with popular support out of the government. The present government, an extension of the martial law regime, is the result of this conspiracy. It has even started to make laws. As mentioned by Allama Mehmood Ahmad Rizvi, the Shariat bill is the government's own bill. The nation is being confronted with various problems so that it will not unite. That is the reason why all reasonable religious leaders oppose this bill. The government wants an important position for the army written into the constitution, as in Turkey. The problems started when the constitution was written in 1973 by representatives of the people. This constitution called for Islamic democracy in Pakistan with parliamentary rule. This cannot be attained without the full involvement of political parties. We have to recognize the fact that we agreed upon this constitution after 25 years of embarrassment and ridicule. Now, suspending this constitution, declaring political parties defunct, holding elections on a nonparty basis, and ruling the country according to the rulers' own wishes through a nonparty parliament is against the country and against Islam. The parliament elected on a nonparty basis had no right to implement a party system in its houses. Under this government, it is inevitable that racial, religious, and geographic factionalism and prejudice should increase. The entire blame lies with the present government. The solution to the present crisis lies in the constitution that the entire country approved in 1973. The provisions for provincial independence included in this constitution are being ignored at present. The situation in Sind reminds us of East Pakistan. We must take major steps to adopt the 1973 constitution and hold fair and just elections immediately. There is no other alternative. Wali Khan was right in stating that this government would never give up control. It would never hold elections on a party basis. Even if it agreed to hold elections, there would be a great deal of bloodshed and fraud in the elections because "Kalashnikov Culture" has taken hold in our society. This government would never give power to the



elected assemblies; the assemblies would be democratic in name only. It should be kept in mind that 3 million Afghans are like a trump card in the hands of the United States. Any government that comes to power will have to obey the United States. Our nation has become used to corruption. How can we control the graft and cheating that exist in every sphere of our lives? The only solution for this problem is to hold elections on a party basis. The MRD has also been demanding elections. Even now political groups have gone to visit the riot-stricken areas and have helped to bring peace there.

Malik Mohammad Qasim: First of all, I would like to discuss Malik Mairaj Khalid's statement about the MRD. Either he has forgotten or misunderstood the first resolution of the MRD demanding that General Zia should relinquish his position. In 1981, we adopted the position that the president should leave and a caretaker government appointed for 90 days. At our Abbottabad meeting, we again asked that General Zia leave his position, we extended the period for a caretaker government to remain to 120 days while elections are held, and we decided to boycott the elections.

I agree with what other participants have said, and would like to propose another alternative. I listened to a speech made by General Zia yesterday. One sentence of his speech seemed to me very important. He said he had held elections so that new members and assemblies with new ideas would come into the government. He is playing with the country. Our prime minister stated that a foreign power is behind these riots. Our home minister announced in the Assembly the same day that no foreign power is behind these riots!

If Zia thinks he is running the country, then he must be right. The administration has efficient intelligence agencies, and it bases its statements on the findings of these agencies. It is not amusing when the prime minister and the home minister make contradictory statements on an issue in one day. A self-respecting government resigns when people are killed needlessly. The man who holds the defense portfolio is also our prime minister, yet his home minister contradicts him within a few hours!

One minister announced that political parties are involved in the unrest. Then the home minister and several other ministers stated that political parties have nothing to do with these riots! It appears that efforts are being made to make us believe that the army is indispensable. Sirs, this is not someone's personal army; this is the people's army. It was proved in 1971 that the army alone cannot manage the country; it cannot keep the country united or solve its problems.

In [the war of] 1965, when the roads and railway lines were in danger, it was the common people who guarded them. We must tell that government that the present situation has resulted from the 10 year martial law regime. Slogans for a confederation are being raised because of this 10-year rule by the armed forces. People must have realized that the armed forces cannot form an effective permanent government. Our army had controlled East Pakistan for a year; then, when there was a slight disturbance, the army could not control



it and we lost East Pakistan. The chasm between the armed forces and the people needs to be bridged. They should work closely as they did in 1965. Pakistanis hate the armed forces now. Wherever soldiers go, they are despised by the people. Now the situation is so bad that even when the government does a good deed, it is viewed negatively. The military and every patriotic citizen should reflect on this.

Let us grant for now that the government is not involved in the present unrest in this country. However, we still cannot deny the fact that the present situation has resulted from the defective policies implemented by this government. We had formed a committee in the MRD, and not a Shi'a or a Sunni blamed each other in it. The religious factionalism was caused by persons who did not understand the people of this region. Here I would like to disagree with Ghulam Nabi's comment that all political parties except the Pakistan People's Party welcomed the martial law government. That is not correct. I disbanded my party precisely because my party along with other parties cooperated with the martial law regime. Many parties and politicians did not welcome martial law. In fact, they had started opposing it. Some political parties believed that General Zia was going to hold elections. Unlike us, not many people knew that he would not hold elections.

No one has mentioned presidential rule or a one-party system in this forum. It has been said that there was no alternative. A movement is beginning in this direction. The MRD has formed a committee here [in Punjab], one in Baluchistan, and one in Karachi. For a long time, some of us have been saying that a "militia" is being formed here. The government seems to support this movement. Never in a government have MNA's [Member of National Assembly], or MPA's [Member of Provincial Assembly], become licensing authorities and given various licenses at their whim. They should remember that there should be some reason when the police are asked if a specific person should be given a license. It is the duty of the SHO and the SP [station officer and police superintendant] to provide licenses. The MNA's and the MPA's do not know anything about it, but this has been the practice for a long time. News reports have told us how arms and weapons have been flaunted at various government meetings. The government does nothing when weapons are shown at anti-government rallies. Imagine that when our president and the leader of the opposition attended a wedding together, there was an uproar in the whole country. The opposition party had to make statements defending this incident! For God's sake, let us not consider this a trifling matter! We have become so distant from each other that a social meeting between our president and the opposition leader has shocked the whole nation. The solution to this problem is what has already been proposed: the holding of party-based elections immediately. Referring to the number of votes cast in the last general elections has no value now. I will say that those elections were very fair and these assemblies are very proper. However, we cannot permit them to make amendments to the constitution that might destroy our national unity. They have put our federal government in danger. The people never gave them this mandate. The chief of the armed forces has been made the president of the country. The MRD has formed an "autonomy committee." We believe that a

national assembly formed on the basis of the 1973 constitution, involving various parties including the MRD, would be able to strengthen our federal government greatly. The government admits that bribery and embezzlement are rampant. The president has admitted that the standard bribery has gone up from 50 rupees to 500 rupees. Graft and dishonesty have become a part of our nature. Economic justice has disappeared. These problems can be solved by the holding of elections on a party basis in order to form an elected government which people can trust. I am not saying that these elections will solve all the problems in a second. The situation has deteriorated too much. We need unity and long-term collaboration by all the people involved to get a grasp on the situation. What happened during the past 10 years cannot be undone by a single political party.

Moderator: Thank you.

7997/12851

CSO: 4656/34

COLUMNIST EXAMINES KARACHI RIOTS, OTHER ISSUES

'City of Problems'

Karachi AMN in Urdu 14 Nov 86 p 2

[Column "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Text] Karachi is said to be a city of problems, and the longest ever period of martial law imposed by General Zia has increased these problems so much that now, in this the largest city of Pakistan where hundreds of thousands of people from all four provinces live, along with regionalism, provincial fanaticism and sectarianism, language riots have also started.

In the recent riots, on one side was said to be the Mohajir National Front and on the other side the Pakhtoon Brotherhood. As a result of these riots, Afghan refugees, too, have become a focus of attention.

A group of emotional people say that Sohrab Goth should be removed, the Bara market should be closed down and the movement of minibuses stopped. Those aligning themselves against Sohrab Goth and the Bara market say that together with the sale of illegal arms, drug trafficking is being carried out there. The reason for demanding that the movement of minibuses be stopped is said to be that their wreckless Pathan drivers have caused a lot of damage to life and property. The second group says that if these under the age of 39 who were born in Karachi itself still insist on calling themselves Mohajirs (refugees), then like the Afghan refugees who intend to return to their homeland after the Afghanistan problem is resolved, they too should announce the conditions for returning to their homeland and give up their Pakistani citizenship. This faction says that riots occur daily in Liaquatabad, Gulbahar and Nazimabad, and that like Sohrab Goth, demands for shifting these settlements can be also fulfilled. Similarly, this faction asks whether buses, minibuses, motorcycle-driven vehicles and cars driven by people other than Pathans do not meet with accidents, and if they do, then why this clamor about stopping only minibuses. This faction says that drug trafficking centers are to be found in practically all large settlements, so instead of demanding that all such drug centers be closed down, why is Sohrab Goth being singled out and slandered. As regards selling arms, the faction says that it is the responsibility of the government to capture and punish those involved in such illegal practices; if the government does not fulfill its responsibility, then the blame falls on the government. The

faction says that as far as the Pakhtoon Brotherhood is concerned, it has always assisted, is still assisting and will continue to assist in the arrest of drug traffickers and illegal arms dealers.

The fact is every citizen would like for his life, property and dignity to be safeguarded. There is now a growing consciousness among the people; they have now begun to understand their economic well-being. They want better opportunities for progress and are not prepared to allow others to deprive them of their respective political and economic rights and privileges.

Recently, the government announced that the population quota should be in Sindis 40 percent urban and 60 percent rural. If these are the correct statistical figures, then let the government show a single example where this quota system has been observed during the past 10 years. During the term of office of former governor retired General Abbasi, some attention was given to the rural areas in Sind aimed at erasing the feeling of deprivation there. But such problems cannot be solved in 2-3 years, nor can they be resolved at the expense of the urban population. It is absolutely essential to maintain a balance between the two populations; otherwise, if the sense of deprivation is removed from one side then it will increase on the other side.

There is a general atmosphere of dissatisfaction; everyone complains that it is extremely difficult to obtain domicile in the interior of Sind as the authorities are very strict in this region. But this is not the case in Karachi, where not so many questions are asked and, not so many inquiries are instigated. Thus, the people coming to Karachi from all over the country have no difficulty in obtaining domicile, and this works against the interest of the permanent residents of Karachi.

The maximum age limit for government employment is 25 years. For various reasons, however, educational institutions remain closed for months and it takes a long time to announce the [examination] results, the consequence being that at the time of filling the vacancies many are well over the age of 25. A simple way to resolve this problem would be to raise the maximum age limit from 25 to 28 years. Generally, people are allowed to work for the government for about 25 years; that is, they may remain in government service until the age of 55, after which government employees may retire from service. If a young man starts his career as a government employee at the age of 28, by the time he completes 25 years of service he will be 53--less than the retirement age of 55. The government should ponder whether if a highly educated young man is unable to get suitable employment just because he is over 25 years of age he will not feel deprived. His lack of employment will not only harm his own family but at the same time it will be a national loss as well.

The tendency to move from the interior of the country to the cities is increasing very rapidly, and this calls for effective planning; otherwise the country will be faced with painful problems accompanied by devastating social ills.

The people who have settled down permanently in Karachi, irrespective of whether they identify themselves as "Mohajirs" (refugees) or pride themselves on being identified as Urdu-speaking people, are knowingly or unknowingly committing a very big political mistake. They are giving political support to groups that have never gained a majority and could not form an effective opposition either in national or provincial assemblies, and as such their elected representatives have not been able to render them any political or economic service or protect their rights and privileges. privileges.

For a small minority it is difficult to get overwhelming approval even for legal problems.

The saying that building different mosques, each with one and a half bricks, does not serve any purpose is a point that needs to be understood. It means that discord and differences bring disaster. Without joining in the national mainstream, it is impossible to obtain political and economic advantages or to protect them. One should carefully consider which party comes first and which second from the standpoint of importance, and one should not lose any time in forming a political alliance with the party that offers a better program and better facilities. In this way a better role can be played not only on the provincial and national level, but one that will better serve the voters as well.

It is foolish to support political parties that are not large on a national scale, most of whose candidates are losers and the number of whose candidates does not exceed 10-12 in any assembly.

The Mohajir National Front no doubt has achieved a political position that no major political party can ignore, but for it to achieve better political and economic benefits it will have to join the national mainstream. This is the only way it can prove to be useful to its supporters.

#### Government, Leaders 'Paralyzed'

Karachi AMN in Urdu 21 Dec 86 p 2

[Column "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Excerpts] The scale of carnage and arson reached in Karachi are impossible to forget. One can offer aid and sympathy to those who lost their loved ones, but who can say when the wounds will be healed. Similarly, the murderers will not enjoy peace to their dying day., for murder leaves such a mark on the murderer's heart that even though it cannot be seen, the murderer will never find peace.

These terrible riots showed that being unarmed can play havoc, as well as that the use of illegal arms can result in a bloodbath.

The world is familiar with the fact that the police and the military completely failed to protect innocent people. Murder and looting continued unabated in the very presence of the defenders of law and order. Many were permanently maimed.

The riots also proved that there was no such thing as government; all of those in authority were virtually powerless. The rioters, who according to Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo consisted only of a handful, paralyzed the entire power of the state government.

General Ziaul Haq came to Karachi, but for fear of hostile demonstrations did not go to the hospital to see the wounded. Prime Minister Junejo came to Karachi, but he did not have the courage to visit the site of murder and arson. The same was true of the state governor, the chief minister, ministers, members of the assembly, senators and councillors.

How was it that those who claimed to have been elected by the vote of the people remained hidden in their homes? And why were these "elected representatives" afraid of the public? Both the elected representatives and General Zia, who masterminded the partyless elections, should ponder these questions and learn lessons therefrom.

As for the leaders of big and small political parties and of religious organizations, none of them visited the affected areas to view the living hell there. They did nothing to remove the dead bodies or the wounded. Nor was anything done to meet the needs of the families that had been devastated.

The president, the prime minister, the Sind governor, the chief minister, the ministers, the assembly members and the councillors could not do anything to get the dead bodies and the wounded removed from the affected areas, nor could they get relief supplies to the affected areas. They did nothing to provide special medical facilities at the hospitals. They did not send even a single tank of water to those areas.

What were they doing? Holding meetings.

In the chief minister's residence and the governor's house, where the atmosphere is very formal, one meeting was held after another. No one thought of providing food, clothing, medicine or shelter. No one did anything, except to hold endless talks and consultations. And this, when the government had sufficient resources that under the guns of the police and the military, they could have sent every kind of relief supplies to the victims within a few minutes.

Meanwhile, the leaders of political and religious organizations kept issuing statements. Their statements, press conferences, resolutions and commentaries filled newspaper pages, but otherwise were of little help to the victims.



Bullets were flying, firing was going on, houses were on fire, human beings were being burned alive and death was having a field day. And in this bloodbath, Aydhi Trust vehicles were going to and fro, removing dead bodies and taking the wounded to the hospital. These vehicles were being operated not by mechanical robots but by living beings like you and me. But their hearts knew no fear except the fear of Allah. The unparalleled determination, courage, fortitude, purity, honesty and spirit of service that the Aydhi Trust volunteers exhibited was the result of Satar Aydhi's training. Among the volunteers, some were exhausted after a few hours as a result of their frantic exertions, but they continued to work day and night. They had to brave mortal danger, they risked their lives to remove not only human beings but also their valuables from the burning houses. While transporting dead bodies and the wounded to the hospital, they were covered with human blood; they heard heartrending screams, they watched the dead in their death throes, they found the wounded dying in their arms, but the purity of their spirit did not permit them to know fear. Food was prepared and distributed among the thousands of victims. Thus was set a unique record of unparalleled service to the sufferers.

Among those I have met have been generals, politicians and government officials, street peddlers and beggars. Sayyad Sakheera, a political and social worker from Punjab, came to see me a few hours ago. On leaving, he said, "If I had my way, I would make Satar Aydhi the governor of Sind, his wife the chief minister, and the heads of the Aydhi Trust centers would be provincial ministers. Then we would see how the problems of Karachi were resolved." Now, you may consider Sayyad Sakheera irrational, or whatever you will, but it is worth pondering why the government could not do what the Aydhi Trust did, why the political parties could not do it, and why the religious bodies could not do it. Why not, as an experiment, hand over the government to the Aydhi Trust for just 90 days, if not more?

12286/12851  
CSO: 4656/41

CAUSES OF UNREST, POLITICAL SOLUTIONS EXAMINED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 14 Nov 86 p 3

[Column "Siyasat Namah" by Abdul Karim Abid: "Our Civil Wars: What Will Be The End?"]

[Text] From the point of view of law and order, Pakistan is passing through the darkest period in its history, and thinking about where this will lead is causing people not only to be concerned but terrified. Some people maintain that our cities will be like Beirut and that our rural areas will see the return of the time when, because of incompetent rulers, unrest spread, law and order disappeared and the government machinery was not concerned with anything except collecting taxes and graft. It is necessary to understand the roots of this big challenge facing law and order.

It has been said on behalf of the present rulers that behind this unrest lurks a secret foreign hand. But the Shia-Sunni riots in Lahore, the Baluch-Pakhtoon clashes in Quetta, reports of dacoities and abductions in Sind, and the arson and bloodbath in Karachi are not the kind of incidents that a few foreign agents can stage-manage. Foreign agents and saboteurs cannot command such influence in any country as to have hundreds of thousands of people at their command, enabling them to stage incidents involving murder and plunder at will.

If foreign agents had actually acquired such vast influence in our country, then only God could help us. But this is not the case. The cause of these clashes are rooted in our society and have been nourished for a long time. Our rulers did nothing to locate and destroy these roots of hatred. Nor did our politicians care to end the escalating hatred and to replace it with methods of brotherhood and love. Instead, the flames of hatred were fed by both rulers and politicians. The rulers, acting on the basis of "divide and rule," thought it necessary to keep the nation divided and to use this to advantage. To this end, one group was encouraged against the other. Ostensibly, the rulers preached unity and brotherhood, but in practice at one time they patronized an extremist intransigent element of Shias and a bigoted, half-crazy or mischievous faction of the Sunnis. One reason for this was that the government wanted to use these elements against the political parties and politicians. For this purpose tensions between Deobandis and Barelavis were also highlighted.

It is true that the British also used to follow the policy of divide and rule. But if they made use of snakes and scorpions, they also knew how to control them. When necessary, the British knew how to cage such creatures. But the administration does not possess the competence, intelligence and ability to activate and deactivate these dangerous groups at will. It has now become helpless in the face of the violence of its own creation. In order to destroy national politics and the national political parties, it fanned every divisive issue, including the jiye Sind, the Pakhtoonkhwa NAP, Baluch nationalism, Punjab chauvinism and Muhajir nationalism. In the religious field, it claims to be champions of Islam. It also practices socialism. By fanning affinities between different groups, it creates conflicts between different factions. This game has been going on for a long time, and it is still continuing. It is pushing the nation toward a terrible civil war. The present unrest is only the harbinger of such civil war. It is in effect a warning to us, "Ignorant people, think of the nation. Don't think only of authority. Otherwise, neither you nor we will survive."

Some people claim that all these clashes are the result of the designs of the ruling class. By establishing that democracy does not suit this nation, they want to clamp down a new and prolonged martial law. But this is a mistaken view. No government deliberately disrupts law and order within its own jurisdiction. If it wants to impose martial law or to remove Prime Minister Junejo and replace him with someone else, it can do so. And it is quite possible that it may do so at a later stage. But to accomplish this, it does not have to instigate riots in one place after another. It has power. It can impose martial law whenever it pleases. It can declare an emergency whenever it wishes. No one can stop it. If anyone had been able to stop it, the martial law would not have lasted for 9 years. Even in the tenth year, the removal of martial law was not the result of agitation or criticism within the country. In this connection, if there was any call or advice, it came from America. If America does not approve, it is not possible for the rulers to impose martial law; if America wants it, then the Pakistani people do not have the courage to dismiss those who impose martial law. So these riots have nothing to do with the clamping down of martial law or the replacement of Prime Minister Junejo. If America wants it that way, the rulers can do it easily enough. For this they do not have to indulge in any complicated maneuvers. Similarly, if some generals want to oust General Zia and they have the necessary power, then why would they need riots to seek justification? Ample justification is already available, and people in the thousands are there to welcome such a move. So if anyone has the power to oust Ziaul Haq and he has America's blessing for the project, then there is no need for him to start riots in Quetta, Peshawar, Karachi Hyderabad, etc. Without riots, there would be peace in the country; even under such conditions, if a strong man has the necessary backing, there has not been and there is not now any obstacle in his way.

The fact is that even the rulers are perplexed by these riots. The causes and solutions to this problem are beyond their comprehension. Our rulers have always recognized only one kind of danger, and that is the danger of

political resentment and political unrest. All their energies and resources have gone to ensure that no political agitation would succeed and that they could rule as they pleased. In this single goal, they have been successful. But now with consternation they are watching nonpolitical riots. They thought that by crushing political parties and student organizations they would be able to rule merrily. But they miscalculated. By their own doing, they have a country to rule in which affairs have become so complicated that it is beyond their wits to resolve them.

This situation is the result of our rulers' obsession with the idea that the Pakistani people are not suited to democracy, and that freedom and basic rights do not agree with them. They believe that the only correct way to govern is by brute force, and because political parties stand in the way of this rule by force, every possible effort has been made to eliminate and destroy them. There is no doubt that as a result of these efforts, the political parties became weaker. But at the same time what happened was that regional and communal forces occupied the vacuum left by political and nationalistic forces. The rulers thought that those puny forces which relied on them for strength and support could pose a threat only to their enemies, not to themselves, and that they could eliminate them whenever they pleased. Thus various regional and religious forces were nourished and brought up. But now these hellhounds have slipped from their control. Just as in East Pakistan, where Mujib, Bhashani, etc., were cultivated to suit political purposes and then got out of control, the same thing is happening in West Pakistan.

Whether it is the Jiye Sind front or the Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz [Muhajir National Front], Pakhtoonism or Baluch nationalism, lawyers espousing the cause of Punjab or supporters of a Saraiki province, they are all moving on the path of confrontation and violence. The same is true of religious forces. This is because in a nonpolitical society or a society in which there are restrictions on politics, there is no mechanism to control extremists or violent differences. Whatever the nature of political parties, in order to succeed, they have to achieve harmony among the various elements of the nation. National political parties and a national political ethos eliminate regionalism and communalism. If there were political freedom, groups like the Jiye Sind would not get a single seat. Nor does the Shia-Sunni conflict have any place in politics. Regionalism and communalism can flourish only in an atmosphere of authoritarianism.

If we want to create a sense of unity among Pakistanis, it cannot be achieved by placing restrictions on regional and communal groups. That is the wrong way; it will not lead to healthy results. For positive results, positive thinking is needed. All those political parties that have a national standing and a national following should be afforded every opportunity to come forward so that they can reach the masses and unite them through the programs they put forward. No doubt among politicians and political parties there are at present divisive elements that appear to be quite powerful under current

conditions, but that is because there is a feeling of enmity between supporters of national politics and the government. If they stop treating each other as enemies, and leaving feelings of enmity behind they approach the masses and try to unite them on the basis of a program, then it is quite possible that this might pose a threat to the government, but the danger that is haunting the nation would be laid to rest. And if national politics does not succeed and flourish, then we will be left to the fate of fragmentation and confrontation.

12286/12851

CSO: 4656/28

## PROCESS OF TAMIL-SINHALESE SEGREGATION EMERGING

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 28 Dec 86 p 9

[Article by Kalinga Tudor Silva, Department of Sociology, University of Peradeniya]

[Text]

*One aspect of the worsening ethnic relations in contemporary Sri Lanka is the increased tendency towards physical and spatial segregation especially between the majority and minority ethnic groups in the country. The increased social and physical gap between the Sinhalese and the Sri Lanka Tamils, increasingly restricted to the southern and northern (including the north-eastern) parts of Sri Lanka respectively, highlights the major ethnic confrontation in contemporary Sri Lanka. Based on census data and findings of ethnographic research, this paper argues that there is a parallel and emerging process of ethnic segregation between the Sinhalese and the Indian Tamils in central Sri Lanka.*

Ethnic segregation is by no means a new phenomenon in the plantation areas in Sri Lanka. As Kemp (1982) points out racial, ethnic and to some extent caste segregation especially between managers and workers was an important feature of the plantation society in colonial Ceylon. While the planters were mostly European, the office staff came from the westernized Ceylonese including the Burghers; the estate workers were invariably recent immigrants from South India. Among the workers too the labour supervisors were several degrees higher in caste terms compared to the ordinary workers (see also Jayaraman 1975). The social distance between the managers and the workers and that between workers of different grades were maintained through the physical distance between and the quality of their living quarters within the estates.

There was also a marked separation between the estates and the surrounding Kandyan villages, occupied by the native Kandyan Sinhalese. The urban centres in the plantation areas in turn were developed by various immigrant business groups including Europeans, Low Country Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. These colonial

forms of segregation were imposed from above and institutionalized through the organization of production and distribution within the plantation economy.

With the dawn of the post independence era, the colonial forms of segregation described so far gave way to new forms of segregation in the plantation areas. The emerging patterns of ethnic segregation in the plantation areas have much to do with intense competition for scarce resources expressed in ethnic terms. Further it involves majority-minority relations between an increasingly impoverished, but politically awakened peasantry on the one hand and an ethnically defined plantation work force on the other. The emerging patterns of ethnic segregation in the plantation areas are also affected by ethnic tension sparked off by the separatist demands of the Tamil militants operating in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka.

**Emerging Patterns of Ethnic Segregation in Central Sri Lanka**

First we will examine some census data relating to changes in ethnic composition in some selected administrative districts in central Sri Lanka. Table 1 presents the relevant data.

According to table 1, of the various ethnic groups in Sri Lanka only Indian Tamils decreased in number between 1971 and 1981. During this 10 year period the total number of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka decreased by 31 percent and the proportion of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka population reduced from 9.4 to 5.6. Obviously the increased pace of repatriation of Indian Tamils under the Sirima-Shastri Pact of 1964 was the major cause of the reported decrease in their number in Sri Lanka between 1971 and 1981. However it appears that the reported decrease in the number of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka may be considerably higher than the actual drop in their



number during this period. This is because that the census data indicate an **unusually large increase of Sri Lanka Tamils** during the same period. Their reported increase between 1971 and 1981 (32.2 percent) was twice as big compared to the percentage increase of the total population in Sri Lanka during the same period (i.e. 16.8). It is quite possible that **many Indian Tamils** who became citizens of Sri Lanka under the Sirima-Shastri Pact of 1964 identified themselves as Sri Lanka Tamils at the 1981 census, using the literal as against the ethnic meaning of the word 'Sri Lanka Tamil'. Therefore, it can be assumed that the drop in the number of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka between 1971 and 1981 is somewhat exaggerated in census figures.

More important however is the fact that changes in ethnic composition between 1971 and 1981 are not uniform for all administrative districts in Sri Lanka. In the districts of **Kandy and Matale**, representing mid country plantation areas, the decline in the number of Indian Tamils is twice as many as for the country as a whole. During the intercensus period the number of Indian Tamils in Kandy and Matale district decreased by 64% and 50% respectively, as against a 31% decrease in their number in the country as a whole. What is more, there is a complete reversal of trends in the district of Nuwara Eliya representing the hill country plantation areas. In sharp contrast to the trend in Kandy and Matale districts, there was a **5.4% increase** in the number of Indian Tamils in the Nuwara Eliya district between 1971 and 1981. Further, there is a reported **229% increase** in the number of Sri Lanka Tamils in the Nuwara Eliya district between 1971 and 1981. This too may be largely due to the confusion between ethnic categories at the 1981 census.

The important point is that the combined Tamil population in the Nuwara Eliya district increased by 24.1% percent, from 255,606 in 1971 to 317,606 in 1981. It is also significant that in 1981 out of the reported total Indian Tamil population of 825,233 in Sri Lanka as a whole, 247,131 or 30 percent lived in the Nuwara Eliya District.

How do we explain the contrasting changes in ethnic composition in two different parts in Central Sri Lanka? Apart from the Nuwara Eliya district the only other district where there has been an increase in the number of Indian Tamils was Vavuniya where they increased by 31% from 14,191 in 1971 to 18,592 in 1981. It follows that between 1971 and 1981 while there was a return migration of Indian Tamils from Sri Lanka to India, there was a parallel movement of Indian Tamils from the midcountry plantation areas, where they are outnumbered by the Sinhalese, towards their own ethnic concentrations in Nuwara Eliya and Vavuniya districts. This is a clear manifestation of growing ethnic segregation in the country as a whole. It is likely that the process was further intensified after the 1981 census, particularly due to the nationwide outbreak of ethnic violence in July 1983.

For a thorough understanding of the emerging patterns of ethnic segregation in central Sri Lanka, the following questions need to be answered.

1. What factors led to the displacement of Indian Tamils from mid-country plantation areas particularly after 1971?
2. What factors led to their increased concentration within the Nuwara Eliya district, where plantations with an overwhelming presence of Indian Tamils predominate?
3. What are the short-term and possible long-term effects of increased Indian Tamil concentration in the Nuwara Eliya district?

(The next sections of the essay will take up these questions in the above order).

### **The Displacement of Indian Tamils from Mid-country Areas.**

The factors leading to the displacement of Indian Tamils from mid-country areas will be identified primarily through the author's field experience in various parts of the Kandy district between 1976 and 1984. Much of this field experience relates to Kandyan villages, but the interaction between Kandyan **Sinhalese** peasants and Indian Tamil estate workers in surrounding tea plantations constituted an important area of study in many of these field projects (for details see Silva, K.T. 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986a, 1986b).

The exodus of Indian Tamils from mid-country areas was caused by several factors which had the cumulative effect of destabilizing Indian Tamils especially in midcountry areas since 1948 or so.

**In independent Sri Lanka the Indian Tamils increasingly become a marginalized ethnic minority**, seen by the numerically predominant Kandyan Sinhalese of surrounding villages, as an alien element with a pre-emptive right over employment and land in the plantations. The **Indian Tamils in mid-country areas have been in a particularly vulnerable position** as they are far outnumbered by an **increasingly volatile Sinhalese peasantry** in this area. The number of Indian Tamils in mid-country areas has rapidly declined due to several waves of outmigration whether they are in the direction of India, Nuwara Eliya district, Vavuniya district or some selected urban destinations in Sri Lanka.

The outflow of Indian Tamils from mid-country areas can be seen as a result of **series of coercive pressures emanating from the organs of the state, political parties and unorganized bands of rural people**. The pressures operating against the Indian Tamils in the area include legal, political and administrative action on the one hand and physical violence directed against them on the other. A brief description of various factors contributing to the exodus of Indian Tamils from mid-country areas follows.

#### **1. Legal Pressures**

The Citizenship Acts of 1948 and 1949 and the Land Reform Laws of 1972 and 1975 are two sets of legislation whereby the Indian Tamils

were deprived of some of the basic rights that they had gradually established during the colonial era. As many of them became non-citizens under the new Citizenship Acts, their ability to take part in electoral politics at local and national levels became severely restricted. The Land Reform Laws, while seeking to help the poor and the landless, served to displace large numbers of Indian estate workers as they were not fully absorbed into some of the new settlements and cooperative farms established on nationalized estates (Ellman & Ratnaweera 1974). These legal pressures were particularly operative in areas where the numerical position of the Indian Tamils relative to the majority ethnic group was much smaller.

## 2. Political Pressures

Their minority status combined with the absence of voting rights have made the Indian Tamils a politically marginal group especially in mid-country areas. They are completely displaced from the political patronage system which has evolved as a means of dispensing state patronage in the form of land and employment especially to the rural voters.

Far from benefiting from this patronage system, the Indian Tamils have often become the victims of it as the **nationalized estates are increasingly used as a means of relieving poverty and unemployment in the surrounding villages.** As a minority ethnic group with limited electoral influence, the Indian Tamils have had an uneasy relationship with each of the ruling parties in Sri Lanka. Their only political representation has been through the Ceylon Workers' Congress (CWC), the ethnically oriented trade union cum political party which can only poorly resist increased political pressures against the ethnic group especially in mid-country areas.

## Increased Ethnic Concentration in the Nuwara Eliya District

The tendency towards increased ethnic concentration of Indian Tamils in the Nuwara Eliya district has been noted by some previous authors (Marga Institute 1978, NIBM 1978), but neither its causes nor its possible effects on future ethnic relations in Sri Lanka have been examined in any systematic manner. The analysis of the ethnic trends in the Nuwara Eliya district presented here is limited due to the fact that it is based on rather sketchy secondary sources.

**The increased concentration of a minority ethnic group within a limited geographical space can be seen as a collective response on the part of the ethnic group concerned in a situation where its survival is threatened by external circumstances.** It is clear that the Nuwara Eliya district has been identified and used as a **place of refuge** by the Indian Tamils fleeing from other areas. (Further it is important that among the Indian Tamils the predominant pattern of migration within Sri Lanka has been from areas with marginal and often uneconomical plantations towards a stronghold of the plantation economy

characterized by larger, more profitable and better-managed plantations.) This has significant implications for the interethnic struggle for the control over resources. Another important aspect is that **the long-standing Indian Tamil residents in the Nuwara Eliya district appear to welcome rather than resist the inflow of fellow Indian Tamils from surrounding areas.** This is rather significant in view of two factors: the limitation of employment opportunities within the plantations and caste fragmentation in Tamilian society. It clearly shows that **in face of external threats the interethnic solidarity among the Indian Tamils has substantially increased.**

The recent reports on unrest in the Nuwara Eliya district must be understood against the background of the processes described in this paper. According to newspaper reports this unrest started as a trade union unrest manifested in the form of a prayer campaign (yagha vyaparaya) in the early part of 1986. This trade union unrest was temporarily resolved by the government in power by granting of citizenship rights to some 90,000 Indian Tamils seeking to be absorbed into the Sri Lanka population under the Sirima-Shastri Pact of 1964. However, there has been frequent strike action among the Indian estate workers in various pockets within the district mostly in protest against the arrest of fellow community members. While trade union unrest is by no means uncommon among the plantation workers in various parts of Sri Lanka, what obtains in the Nuwara Eliya district appears to be much more than the usual degree of trade union activity prevailing among the estate workers elsewhere in Sri Lanka.

Another sensitive issue within the Nuwara Eliya district has been the question of allocating estate land to some recent earth slip victims who happened to be Sinhalese peasants.

This has given rise to a bitter confrontation between Indian Tamil trade union groups on the one hand and the local Sinhalese peasants and their leaders on the other. As yet the question remains unresolved and the earth slip victims continue to remain in refugee camps due to the uncompromising stand taken by each contending party.

There have also been reports of ethnic clashes from time to time especially in Hatton-Talawakelle regions.

According to available reports some of these clashes seem to have originated in interpersonal rivalries, but there also seems to have been rather organized attacks on Sinhalese (especially Low Country Sinhalese) shop owners, Sinhalese estate managers and supervisors and the local police officers in some instances. The Sinhalese estate management staff resident on the local estates was ordered to move out by organized gangs of labourers in several instances. In any case these attacks indicate increased radicalism and aggressiveness on the

**Table 1 : Ethnic Composition in Selected Districts in Sri Lanka,  
1971 to 1981**

District			Sinhalese	Sri Lanka Tamil	Indian Tamil	Ethnicity Muslim	Other	Total
Sri Lanka	1971	No.	9,146,679	1,415,567	1,195,368	853,707	99,822	12,711,143
		%	71.9	11.1	9.4	6.7	0.8	100.0
	1981	No.	10,985,666	1,871,535	825,233	1,056,972	110,595	14,850,001
		%	74.0	12.6	5.6	7.1	0.7	100.0
	71/81 difference	No.	+1,838,987	+455,968	-370,135	+203,265	+10,773	+2,138,858
		%	20.1	32.2	-30.9	23.8	10.8	16.8
Matale	1971	No.	234,2548	11,552	48,385	21,096	1055	316,342
		%	74.1	3.7	15.3	6.7	0.3	100.0
	1981	No.	285,514	20,936	24,084	25,836	1071	357,441
		%	79.8	5.9	6.7	7.2	0.3	100.0
	71/81 difference	No.	+51,260	+9,384	-24,301	+4,740	+16	+41,099
		%	21.9	81.2	-50.2	22.5	1.5	13.0
Kandy	1971	No.	737,4745	50,226	290,592	101,663	7,215	1,187,170
		%	62.1	4.2	24.5	8.6	0.6	100.0
	1981	No.	844,325	55,675	104,840	112,052	5,485	1,126,296
		%	75.0	4.9	9.3	9.9	0.5	100
	71/81 difference	No.	+106,851	+5,449	-185,752	+10,389	-1,730	-60,874
		%	14.5	10.8	-63.9	10.2	-24.0	-5.1
Nuwara Eliya								
	1971	No.	187,265	21,425	234,5147	8,268	1,771	453,243
		%	41.3	4.7	51.7	1.8	0.4	100.0
	1981	No.	187,280	70,471	247,131	14,668	2,669	522,219
		%	35.9	13.5	47.3	2.8	0.5	100.0
	71/81 difference	No.	+15	+49,046	+12,617	+6,400	+898	+61,976
		%	0.01	229.0	5.4	77.4	50.7	15.2

Source: 1971 and 1981 Census Reports

part of certain Indian Tamil elements within the Nuwara Eliya district.

It is likely that all the incidents reported in the preceding paragraphs are directly or indirectly related to the changing ethnic composition in the Nuwara Eliya district pointed out earlier in the essay. On the one hand these events signify a reaction from certain section of Indian Tamils in the Nuwara Eliya district including those who have been pushed out of mid country areas.

On the other hand they can be interpreted as efforts on the part of the local Indian Tamils to further intensify the segregation process by pushing out the remaining Sinhalese in the area including the businessmen, estate managers and police officers. Their resistance to the establishment of new Sinhalese settlements in the area including the settlement of local earthslip victims can be understood as a further step towards ensuring ethnic homogeneity in the area.

On the whole the Nuwara Eliya district must be seen as a potential hotbed for further ethnic tension in Sri Lanka. In order to prevent further deterioration of ethnic relations in Sri Lanka much attention needs to be focused on finding ways and means of curtailling the segregation process that is in progress in central Sri Lanka.

## Conclusion

This paper analyzed the emerging patterns of ethnic segregation in Sri Lanka, focusing on the relationship between Sinhalese and Indian Tamils in selected districts in central Sri Lanka. While the country's major ethnic crisis is primarily associated with the northern and eastern parts of the country, the situation in the central highlands too is potentially dangerous in so far as developments parallel to those in the North and the east may be in the offing in central Sri Lanka.

Finally the current proposal for the establishment of Provincial Councils may be a welcome measure from the angle of decentralization of power so as to benefit the minority ethnic groups, but it can also give rise to further ethnic segregation along provincial lines. Suitable precautions against the emerging patterns of ethnic segregation must constitute an important part of any viable solution to the current ethnic problems in Sri Lanka.

## Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was published in Sinhala in *Samaja Vimasuma* (see Silva K.T. 1986 a).

2. The author personally witnessed the confusing use of the term 'Sri Lanka Tamil' in a survey conducted in Uda Palatha in 1984.

3. Personal communication from SPC and IEDB staff known to the author.

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25 MARCH, 1987

cities, and in rural areas they are owned for the same purpose as conventional weapons, but this custom is on the wane.

[Question] Has the government attempted to disarm the citizenry, especially since arms have been used in the civil war for various purposes, one of which may have been self-defense?

[Answer] Disarmament requires gradual conviction. We are trying to spread this conviction among the people by constantly assuring them that they no longer need weapons so long as there are stable establishments able to protect and defend them.

12502

CSO: 4404/177

TEHRAN-KARAJ RAIL CONSTRUCTION PLAN BEGINS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Nov 86 pp 1, 19

[Text] The preliminary steps to build the electric, high speed, double-line railroad between Tehran and Karaj began with construction activities and the installation of traffic signs in some of the streets and public places.

According to a KEYHAN report, these lines, which were studied some time ago by officials, have now begun in earnest. These lines extend from Sadeqiyyeh Square, alongside the Tehran-Karaj expressway, to the city limits of Karaj.

According to experts, the construction of the foundation and installation of rails along these lines will be ready in three years. With the installation of locomotives and cars and the operation of transportation trains, a large number of passengers will be transported on the two lines along this route.

The operation of this electric train will significantly reduce passenger transportation problems between Tehran and Karaj. This train will be able to transport more than 600,000 passengers per day at a speed of between 150 and 200 km per hour. Calculating the stopping of the cars at the stations on the way, passengers will reach their destination in an average of 20 minutes.

Also, the stations along these lines will be built based on the number of passengers on the route. Cars will stop a maximum of one minute in stations along the route.

This report indicates that part of the cost for the construction of the high-speed Tehran-Karaj railroad will be assumed by the private sector.

10,000

CSO: 4640/67



PRODUCTION, EXPORT OF NEW DOMESTIC RENAULT ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Nov 86 p 18

[Interview with Engineer Mansur, general manager of the Saypa factories, by KEYHAN; date and place not specified]

[Text] Economic service. In an exclusive interview with KEYHAN, the general manager of the Saypa factories announced the details of the production of Renaults for export, the level of export of Renaults to various countries, the situation with regard to the production of Nissans, as well as the level of progress in the operation to implement the Nissan pickup truck project, with new quality and style, the creation of a technical training center, the procedures for the distribution of Renault cars in the society, and the implementation of the job classifications plan at Saypa.

The text of the KEYHAN interview with the general manager of Saypa factories is as follows:

KEYHAN: At what level is the export of Renault passenger cars, and with what countries have sales agreements been signed so far?

General Manager of Saypa Factories: Despite the currency shortages imposed on us as a result of the evil practices of the global oppressors and the problems that they have created for the production units of the country, the export activities of the company began, and in this connection we have signed agreements with Turkey and Bulgaria. We have sent some of our obligations and we are now engaged in negotiations to sign final agreements with several European, Asian and African countries.

We have an agreement for the export of 3,000 Renault cars to Turkey and so far, 500 have been shipped. With Bulgaria, we had an agreement for 500 Renaults, which have all been delivered, and we are negotiating their order for next year.

We have signed a sales protocol with Yugoslavia and the agreement is going through the final stages. Meanwhile, we are negotiating with countries in northern Africa and some other Asian and European countries.

KEYHAN: At what price level on the world automobile market are Iranian export Renaults?

[Answer] Of course, the quality of Renaults has increased in the course of over a year. We need high-quality production because we have entered a market in which high quality plays an important role in attracting the world market.

Our export prices conform to the type of market. In some areas, we must invest to enter the market. In other places, the question of service after the sale is important; and other issues affect our prices.

KEYHAN: Is the level of production sufficient, given the marketing that has been done?

[Answer] The personnel of the company are so highly capable that whenever necessary, the level of production can be increased.

At the same time, the official capacity of the factory is 20,000 cars annually, which we can easily increase, with consideration for our needs and in order to fulfill the commitments of the company to domestic and foreign buyers.

KEYHAN: What steps have been taken so far to reduce currency expenditures and produce Renault spare parts and equipment domestically?

[Answer] After the revolution, due to the fact that the future of the company was not clear, unfortunately investments were not made to reduce the amount of imported items that required currency. Since two years ago, when a clear policy was devised for the company, efforts have been made to raise the level of domestic production through economic and technical studies, because in regards to some items, it is not feasible at all to make large investments, because of the small quantity of production. But in regards to items that we were able to produce in the best form domestically, we have taken steps. For this reason, in our new purchasing orders, we will buy 25 percent less in imported items than in the past.

KEYHAN: How much of the Renault parts are procured domestically at the present?

[Answer] At the present, the entire body and the interior of the Renault are produced by Saypa company. Some items which are also manufactured domestically are purchased from other companies, for example, such items as batteries, tires, and glass. Certain items, unfortunately, we have to import from abroad. Of course, we are trying to reduce the import of such items, and thus far, we have brought the import of Renault parts down to 30 percent, whereas it was 55 percent previously.

## Production of 65,000 Nissan Pickup Trucks Annually

KEYHAN: At what stage is the large Nissan production project, and have any changes in quality been projected in the future plans?

[Answer] The Saypa company is studying a large Nissan plan to, alongside its Renault production, be the only unit producing two-ton pickup trucks with one differential and new features.

The power of the new Nissan pickup truck engine will be 2400 cc, with new quality and changes in style.

The final production of Nissan pickup trucks, which will be carried out throughout the country only by the Saypa company, will be 65,000 annually.

Several large factories, including Pars Khodrow, Saypa, and Zamyad, and several ministries will carry out the Nissan project jointly. According to the plan, more than 90 percent of the parts will be produced domestically.

Two years ago, the agreement to manufacture Nissan pickup trucks was signed between Iran and Japan. Thus far, various phases of the plan have been carried out, including the stages of designing, preliminary technical and economic studies and projections. The first phase, which is ready, involves an annual production of 35,000 new Nissan pickup trucks. The expansion plan has been carried out in Saypa factory. The second phase, which is to reach 65,000 units annually, will begin in 1366 [21 March 1987-20 March 1988].

## Creation of Technical Training Centers

KEYHAN: Having good quality in production requires the existence of trained forces with high levels of skill. What programs do you have in the area of training and raising the level of technical skill of company employees?

[Answer] Since 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986], we started the Saypa technical training center for this purpose and invited teachers from the Ministries of Labor and Heavy Industries and the universities to cooperate with us. In this way, training programs were carried out to raise the technical knowledge and skill of all the personnel of the company, from the simple workers to the management level, in addition to other training, such as foreign language training.

At the present, this center is considered to be the most active and largest technical training center, and the training has resulted in Renault having the highest quality among the passenger vehicles in the country, based on the evaluations of the quality control center of the Ministry of Heavy Industries.

In this center, we have various training courses, which are not restricted to the employees of the Saypa company. We have a course for the technical training of employees at the levels of supervisors, foremen, managers and directors. We also have a course for the training of individuals outside the company, from the private sector. Repair shops send their personnel to the

center to participate in various elementary-, middle- and high-level courses, which run between 15 to 45 days, at a cost of about 30,000 rials. Upon completion of the course, participants receive certificates of specialization in such technical fields as electricity and mechanics.

#### Commitments to Deliver Renaults to Applicants

KEYHAN: Considering the pressure imposed on the factory to export Renaults, what will the situation be with regard to the company's commitments to individuals and institutions?

[Answer] The distribution of cars takes place generally in two forms, through public lotteries and through the quotas set for organizations and institutions, who distribute them among their employees.

In regards to the quotas that we have for the organizations and institutions, I must say that last year and this year, we have delivered a proportionate number of cars, according to the determined quotas, but, because of the priority given to currency problems and exports, which are vital issues for the company, since its survival is dependent on acquiring currency for production, from the end of this month, the remainder of the commitments will be postponed for seven months in order to be able to carry out our commitments with regard to the export agreements with other countries.

KEYHAN: Considering that you no longer have any individual commitments, how have new model Renault cars entered the open market and how are they bought and sold?

[Answer] I must point out that until late Aban 1365 [November 1986], we fulfilled our commitments to the organizations. At the same time, we have another kind of sale, which we have in addition to exports to acquire currency, that is, sale to Iranians residing abroad in foreign currency and rials. These individuals are permitted to sell the cars that they receive to others in Iran.

Hence, the new Renault cars on the market come through this channel.

KEYHAN: One of the problems stated by workers is the issue of job classification. What steps have been taken to resolve this problem?

Engineer Mansur: Since four or five years ago, promises were made to the company workers to implement the job classification plan, but, unfortunately, because of discord and lack of coordination, this plan was not carried out. Thank God, with the efforts made, we implemented this plan and it was offered for ratification to the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Heavy Industries, and the organization for the expansion and renovation of Iranian industries. God willing, with their approval, we will be able to render a small service to the company workers in stabilizing their jobs and creating economic and social coordination and fairness in their salary and job ranks.

I ask the authorities to pay more attention to our problems. We are a company that works in the area of exports and is not solely dependent on imported goods, but domestically produced goods as well.

Unfortunately, we have production problems with some of the companies with whom we have agreements and which are not affiliated with the Ministry of Heavy Industries. We hope these problems will be solved, with the support of the officials.

10,000

CSO: 4640/67

ARMENIAN COMMUNITY ASSISTS WAR EFFORTS; KARRUBI LAUDS AID

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 6 Dec 86 p 13

[Text] Ceremonies to present gifts from the Armenian community to the fronts of the imposed war were held in the presence of the representative of the imam in the Shahid Foundation.

Tehran. IRNA

In the ceremonies to present the gifts by the Armenian community of Tehran to the battle fronts, which were held in the afternoon of the day before yesterday in the diocese of the Armenians of Tehran, Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi, the representative of the imam in the Shahid Foundation of the Islamic revolution, emphasizing the need to continue the war until final victory, said: The reason behind the humiliation of the leaders of global heathenism and their disappointment in the fate of the Ba'thist Saddam is the unity of all the strata of our people and their belief and faith in the revolution. This unity is necessary to achieve the sacred goals that we have ahead of us.

According to an IRNA report, in these ceremonies, which were held in the presence of the families of Armenian martyrs and a group of representatives of the Majlis in Sarkis-e Moqaddas Church, first the archbishop, Ardak Manukian, the leader of the Tehran Armenians, spoke, pointing out that Iranian Armenians have been with their Muslim brothers from the first days of the revolution and also in the course of the imposed war. He said: Iranian Armenians have fought alongside their Muslim brothers on the battle front, with all their resources and spiritual and material power. Many times, the assistance of Armenian students and craftsmen to the fronts has been appreciated by the officials.

He added: Young Armenian soldiers, shoulder to shoulder with the soldiers of Islam, stress their old friendship and brotherhood by offering their blood on the fronts.

According to this report, following the speech of the archbishop of the Armenians of Tehran, the chairman of the diocesan council of the Armenians of Tehran also spoke. Emphasizing the continued unity of the Iranian nation to destroy the Ba'thist enemy, he said:



The enemies of Islam do not hesitate at any conspiracy to attack the rights of this nation. With unity and the help of God, all these conspiracies have been neutralized and only humiliation is left for the enemies of our nation.

He then referred to the recent heinous propaganda conspiracy of Italian television and said: This action, which shows the moral and political decadence of our enemies, is condemned by us and by any free human being in the world. In the continuation of the ceremonies, the representative of the Armenians in the north and Tehran in the Majlis said:

Throughout the course of centuries, Armenians have been continually united with the noble nation of Iran and their Muslim brothers and have never hesitated in carrying out their duties.

He added: The imposed war has shown that the Iranian Armenians have not hesitated in giving their blood to defend the Islamic Republic of Iran. The presence of the honored families of the Armenian martyrs, the missing, the prisoners and the disabled under this roof is the best evidence of this claim.

According to IRNA, Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi, the representative of the imam in the Shahid Foundation of the Islamic revolution and deputy speaker of the Majlis, then spoke. Considering the reasons for the victory of Iran in the war and the international scene as well as the reason for the miserable defeat of the enemies of Islam, despite their being armed to the teeth, to be the unity and united belief and faith of the revolutionary people, he added:

The secret of our victory consists of such continual aid to the battle front. It is our people who give up their lives to help the fronts.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi continued: The dignity and independence of our country is the result of this unity and self-sacrifice. The fact is that we will end this imposed war with victory. He then referred to sending Armenian craftsmen and to the continuous help of the Armenians to the fronts and said:

By offering martyrs and wounded, both in the beginning of the revolution and in the imposed war, the Iranian Armenians have indeed invested in this revolution.

The deputy speaker of the Majlis then referred to the misery and humility of the United States and said: It is the unity and the faith of our nation that made the United States and Reagan beg, they who announced in 1359 [21 March 1980-20 March 1981] that they would sever relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran. He added: At the present time, our enemies, the United States and Reagan, believe that nothing can be accomplished in the region against the wishes of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Mr Karrubi expressed hope that the war will end as soon as possible in order for the Armenian craftsmen to engage in eliminating the existing shortages and shortcomings in the country. In conclusion, he referred to the recent conspiracies of the leaders of heathenism against the Islamic Republic of Iran and said:

Recently the propaganda media and the oppressors have conspired to destroy the unity of our people. They consider the arrest of a representative of the Jewish minority as imposing pressure on the minorities of Iran. However, our nation knows the nature of these conspiracies and continues to preserve its unity. He added: This aid, which is given to the fronts with total dignity by the Armenians, shows that the Western propaganda agencies are fabricating nonsense.

According to this report, the gifts of the Armenians were sent to the battle fronts yesterday (Friday), after the Tehran Friday prayer ceremonies.

The gifts of the Armenians include the needs of the fronts as follows:

Ten 2-differential tractors with complete spare parts, 15 automatic and semiautomatic blockbusters, 1 ton of sugar halva, 1,800 pairs of gloves, 5,000 pairs of socks, 4,800 cans of fruit in 100 boxes, and 500 heaters.

10,000

CSO: 4640/66

FORUM BLAMES GOVERNMENT FOR PRESENT POLITICAL UNREST

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 29 Nov 86 pp 1, 12

[Report by Tariq Ismail Sagar on NAWA-I-WAQT symposium comprised of Malik Ghulam Nabi, Allama Mehmood Ahmad Rizvi, Allama Ihsan Ilahi Zahir, Mailk Mairaj Khalid and Malik Mohammad Qasim: "Political Unrest or Subversion?"--date not given]

[Text] Moderator: This symposium has been convened to discuss the unrest, riots, and subversion in the country. You are all aware of the incidents that have occurred in Lahore, Quetta, Karachi, Hyderabad, and Peshawar. What are the causes of these organized incidents of subversion, and what can be done to stop them? Former Education Minister of Punjab Malik Ghulam Nabi will open the discussion on this issue.

Ghulam Nabi: Every concerned individual, especially the political leaders, welcomed martial law when it was first implemented in 1977. The martial law government very cleverly got all the intellectuals on its side. It used the Majlis-e shoora to get the approval of the rest of the people. Steps were taken to make the people forget about being involved in various aspects of politics. All institutions were dismantled, and no political party was left. Now, we have to find a solution to the present situation. I respect the religious scholars greatly, but the way they are using the name of Islam and encouraging religious hatred could put us in a very difficult situation. The fires of factionalism could burn the whole country down. We can fight anything but religion. There is no escape if we once get caught up in religious factionalism. The martial law regime divided the country into factions. The greatest need today is unity. Political elections should be held as soon as possible so a stable government can be established and the present political confusion eliminated. Murder and theft are being committed in broad daylight as a result of specific slogans raised by subversive groups. We have seen the imposition of martial law several times. Ayub Khan imposed it at one time. He did not, however, direct his martial law toward religious fanaticism, i.e., "mullaism." He knew very well that such an action would doom the nation. He had learned the history of Islamic countries well. During the last martial law regime, the raw nerve of the people was touched and religious factionalism encouraged. Only God can help us if new elections are not held soon. One can buy anything from other countries, but one cannot import patriotism and national pride. For God's sake, let us not abuse the name of Islam. Let us involve the people in political action.

Allama Mehmood Ahmad Rizvi: Who is responsible for the present situation in Pakistan? We cannot blame the religious groups. Muslims with differing ideas and beliefs live here. Only God can get them all to believe and follow a specific ideology; it is not possible for man to achieve this. Second, whatever the religion, it becomes the scapegoat, and religious factionalism is accused of whatever problems exist in a country. This is entirely wrong. Can you tell me why you want elections based on political parties? On what basis were the three, five or 10 political parties formed? In what different way do they want elections to be held? On what basis do they want to be members of the majority or opposition in the assemblies? All this is based on differences in philosophy and ideology. Every political party opposes other parties. If we cannot complain about ideological differences in political parties, we have no right to complain about religious differences. If we want to accuse religious groups of factionalism, then we must accuse political parties of the same. This is a fact.

In my humble opinion, religion has nothing to do with the riots in Sarhad (NWFP]. No religious factions were involved in the Quetta incidents. Religious groups have nothing to do with the riots in Karachi and Hyderabad. The transportation problem is very serious there. As for the riots in Lahore, we did not expect them. We certainly did not know that those riots would be so widespread. You cannot call these disturbances religious just because the names Shi'a and Sunni were involved. Nobody tried to find out who was behind all these disorders and who fanned the fires of violence. The present need is to help the poor people who lost their homes in the various riots, especially in Lahore. The situation can be improved by helping these people as much as possible. All the acts of violence should be honestly analyzed before accusations are made. I believe that religious and political leaders should visit other provinces and try to calm the people within the sphere of their influence.

Allama Ihsan Ilahi Zahir: I believe that the government is playing a game to stay in power. It is said everywhere that a hidden hand is behind all these activities. The idea that a country cannot operate without the armed forces is being spread. The martial law administration has brought in civilians to share power, but power by nature just cannot be shared. The proponents of the martial law regime are trying to convince the people that the present government has failed to run the country efficiently. You have heard General Zia's statement that he personally does not believe in political government and blaming the civilian sector of the government for the present problems. He had said in the past that there should be no elections and that the armed forces should have a place in the constitution. The Punjab minister of charitable endowments has clearly indicated that the Shi'a and Sunni sects had nothing to do with the riots in Lahore. Cannot a government which is capable of dispersing a whole procession arrest the 40 or 50 troublemakers that started the riots? We all know what all this proves. Lahore's situation did not call for army control. Never in the history of the world has an army chief visited an area where martial law was imposed for a couple of days. If this situation was so grave why was the chief minister of Punjab making

speeches in other cities? Let us look at the incidents in Karachi. Didn't the administration know the route the procession was to follow? It knew that a disciple of G.M. Sayed was involved. G. M. Sayed never tires of singing the praises of General Zia, because he knows that only a martial law regime can help him attain his ugly goals. The chief minister of Sind was also visiting elsewhere when the uproar erupted in Karachi. Now, I would like to make a statement about religion. Factions were there from the very beginning and they will remain until the end. Factionalism and factions are two very different things. Factionalism is born when the government of the time wants it. I am saying openly and clearly, as a religious worker, that regardless of the fire and brimstone a mullah includes in his speech, factionalism results only when the governments wants it. Riots are not caused by our speeches; they occur when a government wants them. The Shariat bill being discussed at present has also caused many problems.

The government has instructed people to start a movement in support of the Shariat bill. We have closed our eyes to these facts. We will be able to see everything if only we open our eyes. Maulana Rizvi and I would be willing to sacrifice our lives for implementation of Shariat rule. We have nothing against Shariat rule, but this bill is being used to make the various groups fight among themselves. The bill also asks for an important role for the army in the constitution, just as in the Turkish constitution. I would like to mention that the present situation in Sind is very similar to the situation in Bangladesh. Let us not delude ourselves. No province head is as unfortunate as one who cannot even ride in a car despite being the chief administrator of the state, its police, and the army! That chief minister cannot even travel 40 miles on a road in his province. Government groups are allowed to pass a barrier only after they repeat the slogan, "Bhuttoism lives!"

Malik Mairaj Khalid: No political party or foreign power is involved in these riots. The country is on the brink of disaster because of the martial law. Allama Mehmood Ahmad Rizvi and Allama Ihsan Ilahi Zahir have explained how religious riots are caused. I would like to discuss this situation from the political and economic points of view. We all know that our country has never faced a situation as grave as it is facing now. The unity and security of our nation are in danger. The country is suffering from unrest and disappointment. Everyone is asking if the federation of provinces called Pakistan will remain. The country united on a national issue when the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] organized rallies all over the country welcoming Benazir Bhutto. The government got worried about losing power because of the national unity. When the MRD decided to hold a big public meeting at Mochi Darwaza in Lahore on 14 August, the Muslim League also decided to hold a meeting without even telling Prime Minister Junejo. President Zia went out of the country. Thinking that these opposing public meetings would result in riots, which would give the government the excuse and opportunity to prove that politicians were not capable of running the country and that armed forces rule was essential. Prime Minister Junejo raised this issue in the federal cabinet, and a heated discussion was held.



All this is public knowledge now. Pir Pagara has accused Chief Minister Nawaz Shareef [of Punjab] of similar negligence. All this has been published in various newspapers. It was decided to postpone the Muslim League meeting. The MRD, however, decided to hold its public meeting. The government ordered implementation of Article 144 [curfew] so there could be some riots. Four persons were killed, and hundreds were wounded and arrested. Between 15 August and 6 September, the MRD organized several peaceful processions. The participants were subjected to violence by the police. We have to praise their patience and forbearance for not retaliating. The government conspiracies failed. The government plan to bring the army to this area and to prove that democracy cannot work here did not work. It was looking for another opportunity, and the month of Moharram provided it.

The MRD decided to suspend its agitation for the month of Moharram. The government, however, still brought in the army. The idea that the army still could be brought in and that the country could not run without the armed forces created a strange psychological mood in the country. All this was done because the MRD and other democratic forces were trying to unite the nation against the present government. The conspiracy was hatched on 12 August 1983 when elections were called without the involvement of political parties. This was to keep people with popular support out of the government. The present government, an extension of the martial law regime, is the result of this conspiracy. It has even started to make laws. As mentioned by Allama Mahmood Ahmad Rizvi, the Shariat bill is the government's own bill. The nation is being confronted with various problems so that it will not unite. That is the reason why all reasonable religious leaders oppose this bill. The government wants an important position for the army written into the constitution, as in Turkey. The problems started when the constitution was written in 1973 by representatives of the people. This constitution called for Islamic democracy in Pakistan with parliamentary rule. This cannot be attained without the full involvement of political parties. We have to recognize the fact that we agreed upon this constitution after 25 years of embarrassment and ridicule. Now, suspending this constitution, declaring political parties defunct, holding elections on a nonparty basis, and ruling the country according to the rulers' own wishes through a nonparty parliament is against the country and against Islam. The parliament elected on a nonparty basis had no right to implement a party system in its houses. Under this government, it is inevitable that racial, religious, and geographic factionalism and prejudice should increase. The entire blame lies with the present government. The solution to the present crisis lies in the constitution that the entire country approved in 1973. The provisions for provincial independence included in this constitution are being ignored at present. The situation in Sind reminds us of East Pakistan. We must take major steps to adopt the 1973 constitution and hold fair and just elections immediately. There is no other alternative. Wali Khan was right in stating that this government would never give up control. It would never hold elections on a party basis. Even if it agreed to hold elections, there would be a great deal of bloodshed and fraud in the elections because "Kalashnikov Culture" has taken hold in our society. This government would never give power to the



elected assemblies; the assemblies would be democratic in name only. It should be kept in mind that 3 million Afghans are like a trump card in the hands of the United States. Any government that comes to power will have to obey the United States. Our nation has become used to corruption. How can we control the graft and cheating that exist in every sphere of our lives? The only solution for this problem is to hold elections on a party basis. The MRD has also been demanding elections. Even now political groups have gone to visit the riot-stricken areas and have helped to bring peace there.

Malik Mohammad Qasim: First of all, I would like to discuss Malik Mairaj Khalid's statement about the MRD. Either he has forgotten or misunderstood the first resolution of the MRD demanding that General Zia should relinquish his position. In 1981, we adopted the position that the president should leave and a caretaker government appointed for 90 days. At our Abbottabad meeting, we again asked that General Zia leave his position, we extended the period for a caretaker government to remain to 120 days while elections are held, and we decided to boycott the elections.

I agree with what other participants have said, and would like to propose another alternative. I listened to a speech made by General Zia yesterday. One sentence of his speech seemed to me very important. He said he had held elections so that new members and assemblies with new ideas would come into the government. He is playing with the country. Our prime minister stated that a foreign power is behind these riots. Our home minister announced in the Assembly the same day that no foreign power is behind these riots!

If Zia thinks he is running the country, then he must be right. The administration has efficient intelligence agencies, and it bases its statements on the findings of these agencies. It is not amusing when the prime minister and the home minister make contradictory statements on an issue in one day. A self-respecting government resigns when people are killed needlessly. The man who holds the defense portfolio is also our prime minister, yet his home minister contradicts him within a few hours!

One minister announced that political parties are involved in the unrest. Then the home minister and several other ministers stated that political parties have nothing to do with these riots! It appears that efforts are being made to make us believe that the army is indispensable. Sirs, this is not someone's personal army; this is the people's army. It was proved in 1971 that the army alone cannot manage the country; it cannot keep the country united or solve its problems.

In [the war of] 1965, when the roads and railway lines were in danger, it was the common people who guarded them. We must tell that government that the present situation has resulted from the 10 year martial law regime. Slogans for a confederation are being raised because of this 10-year rule by the armed forces. People must have realized that the armed forces cannot form an effective permanent government. Our army had controlled East Pakistan for a year; then, when there was a slight disturbance, the army could not control

it and we lost East Pakistan. The chasm between the armed forces and the people needs to be bridged. They should work closely as they did in 1965. Pakistanis hate the armed forces now. Wherever soldiers go, they are despised by the people. Now the situation is so bad that even when the government does a good deed, it is viewed negatively. The military and every patriotic citizen should reflect on this.

Let us grant for now that the government is not involved in the present unrest in this country. However, we still cannot deny the fact that the present situation has resulted from the defective policies implemented by this government. We had formed a committee in the MRD, and not a Shi'a or a Sunni blamed each other in it. The religious factionalism was caused by persons who did not understand the people of this region. Here I would like to disagree with Ghulam Nabi's comment that all political parties except the Pakistan People's Party welcomed the martial law government. That is not correct. I disbanded my party precisely because my party along with other parties cooperated with the martial law regime. Many parties and politicians did not welcome martial law. In fact, they had started opposing it. Some political parties believed that General Zia was going to hold elections. Unlike us, not many people knew that he would not hold elections.

No one has mentioned presidential rule or a one-party system in this forum. It has been said that there was no alternative. A movement is beginning in this direction. The MRD has formed a committee here [in Punjab], one in Baluchistan, and one in Karachi. For a long time, some of us have been saying that a "militia" is being formed here. The government seems to support this movement. Never in a government have MNA's [Member of National Assembly], or MPA's [Member of Provincial Assembly], become licensing authorities and given various licenses at their whim. They should remember that there should be some reason when the police are asked if a specific person should be given a license. It is the duty of the SHO and the SP [station officer and police superintendant] to provide licenses. The MNA's and the MPA's do not know anything about it, but this has been the practice for a long time. News reports have told us how arms and weapons have been flaunted at various government meetings. The government does nothing when weapons are shown at anti-government rallies. Imagine that when our president and the leader of the opposition attended a wedding together, there was an uproar in the whole country. The opposition party had to make statements defending this incident! For God's sake, let us not consider this a trifling matter! We have become so distant from each other that a social meeting between our president and the opposition leader has shocked the whole nation. The solution to this problem is what has already been proposed: the holding of party-based elections immediately. Referring to the number of votes cast in the last general elections has no value now. I will say that those elections were very fair and these assemblies are very proper. However, we cannot permit them to make amendments to the constitution that might destroy our national unity. They have put our federal government in danger. The people never gave them this mandate. The chief of the armed forces has been made the president of the country. The MRD has formed an "autonomy committee." We believe that a

national assembly formed on the basis of the 1973 constitution, involving various parties including the MRD, would be able to strengthen our federal government greatly. The government admits that bribery and embezzlement are rampant. The president has admitted that the standard bribery has gone up from 50 rupees to 500 rupees. Graft and dishonesty have become a part of our nature. Economic justice has disappeared. These problems can be solved by the holding of elections on a party basis in order to form an elected government which people can trust. I am not saying that these elections will solve all the problems in a second. The situation has deteriorated too much. We need unity and long-term collaboration by all the people involved to get a grasp on the situation. What happened during the past 10 years cannot be undone by a single political party.

Moderator: Thank you.

7997/12851

CSO: 4656/34

COLUMNIST EXAMINES KARACHI RIOTS, OTHER ISSUES

'City of Problems'

Karachi AMN in Urdu 14 Nov 86 p 2

[Column "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Text] Karachi is said to be a city of problems, and the longest ever period of martial law imposed by General Zia has increased these problems so much that now, in this the largest city of Pakistan where hundreds of thousands of people from all four provinces live, along with regionalism, provincial fanaticism and sectarianism, language riots have also started.

In the recent riots, on one side was said to be the Mohajir National Front and on the other side the Pakhtoon Brotherhood. As a result of these riots, Afghan refugees, too, have become a focus of attention.

A group of emotional people say that Sohrab Goth should be removed, the Bara market should be closed down and the movement of minibuses stopped. Those aligning themselves against Sohrab Goth and the Bara market say that together with the sale of illegal arms, drug trafficking is being carried out there. The reason for demanding that the movement of minibuses be stopped is said to be that their wreckless Pathan drivers have caused a lot of damage to life and property. The second group says that if these under the age of 39 who were born in Karachi itself still insist on calling themselves Mohajirs (refugees), then like the Afghan refugees who intend to return to their homeland after the Afghanistan problem is resolved, they too should announce the conditions for returning to their homeland and give up their Pakistani citizenship. This faction says that riots occur daily in Liaquatabad, Gulbahar and Nazimabad, and that like Sohrab Goth, demands for shifting these settlements can be also fulfilled. Similarly, this faction asks whether buses, minibuses, motorcycle-driven vehicles and cars driven by people other than Pathans do not meet with accidents, and if they do, then why this clamor about stopping only minibuses. This faction says that drug trafficking centers are to be found in practically all large settlements, so instead of demanding that all such drug centers be closed down, why is Sohrab Goth being singled out and slandered. As regards selling arms, the faction says that it is the responsibility of the government to capture and punish those involved in such illegal practices; if the government does not fulfill its responsibility, then the blame falls on the government. The

faction says that as far as the Pakhtoon Brotherhood is concerned, it has always assisted, is still assisting and will continue to assist in the arrest of drug traffickers and illegal arms dealers.

The fact is every citizen would like for his life, property and dignity to be safeguarded. There is now a growing consciousness among the people; they have now begun to understand their economic well-being. They want better opportunities for progress and are not prepared to allow others to deprive them of their respective political and economic rights and privileges.

Recently, the government announced that the population quota should be in Sindis 40 percent urban and 60 percent rural. If these are the correct statistical figures, then let the government show a single example where this quota system has been observed during the past 10 years. During the term of office of former governor retired General Abbasi, some attention was given to the rural areas in Sind aimed at erasing the feeling of deprivation there. But such problems cannot be solved in 2-3 years, nor can they be resolved at the expense of the urban population. It is absolutely essential to maintain a balance between the two populations; otherwise, if the sense of deprivation is removed from one side then it will increase on the other side.

There is a general atmosphere of dissatisfaction; everyone complains that it is extremely difficult to obtain domicile in the interior of Sind as the authorities are very strict in this region. But this is not the case in Karachi, where not so many questions are asked and, not so many inquiries are instigated. Thus, the people coming to Karachi from all over the country have no difficulty in obtaining domicile, and this works against the interest of the permanent residents of Karachi.

The maximum age limit for government employment is 25 years. For various reasons, however, educational institutions remain closed for months and it takes a long time to announce the [examination] results, the consequence being that at the time of filling the vacancies many are well over the age of 25. A simple way to resolve this problem would be to raise the maximum age limit from 25 to 28 years. Generally, people are allowed to work for the government for about 25 years; that is, they may remain in government service until the age of 55, after which government employees may retire from service. If a young man starts his career as a government employee at the age of 28, by the time he completes 25 years of service he will be 53--less than the retirement age of 55. The government should ponder whether if a highly educated young man is unable to get suitable employment just because he is over 25 years of age he will not feel deprived. His lack of employment will not only harm his own family but at the same time it will be a national loss as well.

The tendency to move from the interior of the country to the cities is increasing very rapidly, and this calls for effective planning; otherwise the country will be faced with painful problems accompanied by devastating social ills.



The people who have settled down permanently in Karachi, irrespective of whether they identify themselves as "Mohajirs" (refugees) or pride themselves on being identified as Urdu-speaking people, are knowingly or unknowingly committing a very big political mistake. They are giving political support to groups that have never gained a majority and could not form an effective opposition either in national or provincial assemblies, and as such their elected representatives have not been able to render them any political or economic service or protect their rights and privileges.

For a small minority it is difficult to get overwhelming approval even for legal problems.

The saying that building different mosques, each with one and a half bricks, does not serve any purpose is a point that needs to be understood. It means that discord and differences bring disaster. Without joining in the national mainstream, it is impossible to obtain political and economic advantages or to protect them. One should carefully consider which party comes first and which second from the standpoint of importance, and one should not lose any time in forming a political alliance with the party that offers a better program and better facilities. In this way a better role can be played not only on the provincial and national level, but one that will better serve the voters as well.

It is foolish to support political parties that are not large on a national scale, most of whose candidates are losers and the number of whose candidates does not exceed 10-12 in any assembly.

The Mohajir National Front no doubt has achieved a political position that no major political party can ignore, but for it to achieve better political and economic benefits it will have to join the national mainstream. This is the only way it can prove to be useful to its supporters.

#### Government, Leaders 'Paralyzed'

Karachi AMN in Urdu 21 Dec 86 p 2

[Column "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Excerpts] The scale of carnage and arson reached in Karachi are impossible to forget. One can offer aid and sympathy to those who lost their loved ones, but who can say when the wounds will be healed. Similarly, the murderers will not enjoy peace to their dying day., for murder leaves such a mark on the murderer's heart that even though it cannot be seen, the murderer will never find peace.



These terrible riots showed that being unarmed can play havoc, as well as that the use of illegal arms can result in a bloodbath.

The world is familiar with the fact that the police and the military completely failed to protect innocent people. Murder and looting continued unabated in the very presence of the defenders of law and order. Many were permanently maimed.

The riots also proved that there was no such thing as government; all of those in authority were virtually powerless. The rioters, who according to Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo consisted only of a handful, paralyzed the entire power of the state government.

General Ziaul Haq came to Karachi, but for fear of hostile demonstrations did not go to the hospital to see the wounded. Prime Minister Junejo came to Karachi, but he did not have the courage to visit the site of murder and arson. The same was true of the state governor, the chief minister, ministers, members of the assembly, senators and councillors.

How was it that those who claimed to have been elected by the vote of the people remained hidden in their homes? And why were these "elected representatives" afraid of the public? Both the elected representatives and General Zia, who masterminded the partyless elections, should ponder these questions and learn lessons therefrom.

As for the leaders of big and small political parties and of religious organizations, none of them visited the affected areas to view the living hell there. They did nothing to remove the dead bodies or the wounded. Nor was anything done to meet the needs of the families that had been devastated.

The president, the prime minister, the Sind governor, the chief minister, the ministers, the assembly members and the councillors could not do anything to get the dead bodies and the wounded removed from the affected areas, nor could they get relief supplies to the affected areas. They did nothing to provide special medical facilities at the hospitals. They did not send even a single tank of water to those areas.

What were they doing? Holding meetings.

In the chief minister's residence and the governor's house, where the atmosphere is very formal, one meeting was held after another. No one thought of providing food, clothing, medicine or shelter. No one did anything, except to hold endless talks and consultations. And this, when the government had sufficient resources that under the guns of the police and the military, they could have sent every kind of relief supplies to the victims within a few minutes.

Meanwhile, the leaders of political and religious organizations kept issuing statements. Their statements, press conferences, resolutions and commentaries filled newspaper pages, but otherwise were of little help to the victims.

Bullets were flying, firing was going on, houses were on fire, human beings were being burned alive and death was having a field day. And in this bloodbath, Aydhi Trust vehicles were going to and fro, removing dead bodies and taking the wounded to the hospital. These vehicles were being operated not by mechanical robots but by living beings like you and me. But their hearts knew no fear except the fear of Allah. The unparalleled determination, courage, fortitude, purity, honesty and spirit of service that the Aydhi Trust volunteers exhibited was the result of Satar Aydhi's training. Among the volunteers, some were exhausted after a few hours as a result of their frantic exertions, but they continued to work day and night. They had to brave mortal danger, they risked their lives to remove not only human beings but also their valuables from the burning houses. While transporting dead bodies and the wounded to the hospital, they were covered with human blood; they heard heartrending screams, they watched the dead in their death throes, they found the wounded dying in their arms, but the purity of their spirit did not permit them to know fear. Food was prepared and distributed among the thousands of victims. Thus was set a unique record of unparalleled service to the sufferers.

Among those I have met have been generals, politicians and government officials, street peddlers and beggars. Sayyad Sakheera, a political and social worker from Punjab, came to see me a few hours ago. On leaving, he said, "If I had my way, I would make Satar Aydhi the governor of Sind, his wife the chief minister, and the heads of the Aydhi Trust centers would be provincial ministers. Then we would see how the problems of Karachi were resolved." Now, you may consider Sayyad Sakheera irrational, or whatever you will, but it is worth pondering why the government could not do what the Aydhi Trust did, why the political parties could not do it, and why the religious bodies could not do it. Why not, as an experiment, hand over the government to the Aydhi Trust for just 90 days, if not more?

12286/12851

CSO: 4656/41

# CAUSES OF UNREST, POLITICAL SOLUTIONS EXAMINED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 14 Nov 86 p 3

[Column "Siyasat Namah" by Abdul Karim Abid: "Our Civil Wars: What Will Be The End?"]

[Text] From the point of view of law and order, Pakistan is passing through the darkest period in its history, and thinking about where this will lead is causing people not only to be concerned but terrified. Some people maintain that our cities will be like Beirut and that our rural areas will see the return of the time when, because of incompetent rulers, unrest spread, law and order disappeared and the government machinery was not concerned with anything except collecting taxes and graft. It is necessary to understand the roots of this big challenge facing law and order.

It has been said on behalf of the present rulers that behind this unrest lurks a secret foreign hand. But the Shia-Sunni riots in Lahore, the Baluch-Pakhtoon clashes in Quetta, reports of dacoities and abductions in Sind, and the arson and bloodbath in Karachi are not the kind of incidents that a few foreign agents can stage-manage. Foreign agents and saboteurs cannot command such influence in any country as to have hundreds of thousands of people at their command, enabling them to stage incidents involving murder and plunder at will.

If foreign agents had actually acquired such vast influence in our country, then only God could help us. But this is not the case. The cause of these clashes are rooted in our society and have been nourished for a long time. Our rulers did nothing to locate and destroy these roots of hatred. Nor did our politicians care to end the escalating hatred and to replace it with methods of brotherhood and love. Instead, the flames of hatred were fed by both rulers and politicians. The rulers, acting on the basis of "divide and rule," thought it necessary to keep the nation divided and to use this to advantage. To this end, one group was encouraged against the other. Ostensibly, the rulers preached unity and brotherhood, but in practice at one time they patronized an extremist intransigent element of Shias and a bigoted, half-crazy or mischievous faction of the Sunnis. One reason for this was that the government wanted to use these elements against the political parties and politicians. For this purpose tensions between Deobandis and Bareilavis were also highlighted.

It is true that the British also used to follow the policy of divide and rule. But if they made use of snakes and scorpions, they also knew how to control them. When necessary, the British knew how to cage such creatures. But the administration does not possess the competence, intelligence and ability to activate and deactivate these dangerous groups at will. It has now become helpless in the face of the violence of its own creation. In order to destroy national politics and the national political parties, it fanned every divisive issue, including the jiyeh Sind, the Pakhtoonkhwa NAP, Baluch nationalism, Punjab chauvinism and Muhajir nationalism. In the religious field, it claims to be champions of Islam. It also practices socialism. By fanning affinities between different groups, it creates conflicts between different factions. This game has been going on for a long time, and it is still continuing. It is pushing the nation toward a terrible civil war. The present unrest is only the harbinger of such civil war. It is in effect a warning to us, "Ignorant people, think of the nation. Don't think only of authority. Otherwise, neither you nor we will survive."

Some people claim that all these clashes are the result of the designs of the ruling class. By establishing that democracy does not suit this nation, they want to clamp down a new and prolonged martial law. But this is a mistaken view. No government deliberately disrupts law and order within its own jurisdiction. If it wants to impose martial law or to remove Prime Minister Junejo and replace him with someone else, it can do so. And it is quite possible that it may do so at a later stage. But to accomplish this, it does not have to instigate riots in one place after another. It has power. It can impose martial law whenever it pleases. It can declare an emergency whenever it wishes. No one can stop it. If anyone had been able to stop it, the martial law would not have lasted for 9 years. Even in the tenth year, the removal of martial law was not the result of agitation or criticism within the country. In this connection, if there was any call or advice, it came from America. If America does not approve, it is not possible for the rulers to impose martial law; if America wants it, then the Pakistani people do not have the courage to dismiss those who impose martial law. So these riots have nothing to do with the clamping down of martial law or the replacement of Prime Minister Junejo. If America wants it that way, the rulers can do it easily enough. For this they do not have to indulge in any complicated maneuvers. Similarly, if some generals want to oust General Zia and they have the necessary power, then why would they need riots to seek justification? Ample justification is already available, and people in the thousands are there to welcome such a move. So if anyone has the power to oust Ziaul Haq and he has America's blessing for the project, then there is no need for him to start riots in Quetta, Peshawar, Karachi Hyderabad, etc. Without riots, there would be peace in the country; even under such conditions, if a strong man has the necessary backing, there has not been and there is not now any obstacle in his way.

The fact is that even the rulers are perplexed by these riots. The causes and solutions to this problem are beyond their comprehension. Our rulers have always recognized only one kind of danger, and that is the danger of

political resentment and political unrest. All their energies and resources have gone to ensure that no political agitation would succeed and that they could rule as they pleased. In this single goal, they have been successful. But now with consternation they are watching nonpolitical riots. They thought that by crushing political parties and student organizations they would be able to rule merrily. But they miscalculated. By their own doing, they have a country to rule in which affairs have become so complicated that it is beyond their wits to resolve them.

This situation is the result of our rulers' obsession with the idea that the Pakistani people are not suited to democracy, and that freedom and basic rights do not agree with them. They believe that the only correct way to govern is by brute force, and because political parties stand in the way of this rule by force, every possible effort has been made to eliminate and destroy them. There is no doubt that as a result of these efforts, the political parties became weaker. But at the same time what happened was that regional and communal forces occupied the vacuum left by political and nationalistic forces. The rulers thought that those puny forces which relied on them for strength and support could pose a threat only to their enemies, not to themselves, and that they could eliminate them whenever they pleased. Thus various regional and religious forces were nourished and brought up. But now these hellhounds have slipped from their control. Just as in East Pakistan, where Mujib, Bhashani, etc., were cultivated to suit political purposes and then got out of control, the same thing is happening in West Pakistan.

Whether it is the Jiye Sind front or the Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz [Muhajir National Front], Pakhtoonism or Baluch nationalism, lawyers espousing the cause of Punjab or supporters of a Saraiki province, they are all moving on the path of confrontation and violence. The same is true of religious forces. This is because in a nonpolitical society or a society in which there are restrictions on politics, there is no mechanism to control extremists or violent differences. Whatever the nature of political parties, in order to succeed, they have to achieve harmony among the various elements of the nation. National political parties and a national political ethos eliminate regionalism and communalism. If there were political freedom, groups like the Jiye Sind would not get a single seat. Nor does the Shia-Sunni conflict have any place in politics. Regionalism and communalism can flourish only in an atmosphere of authoritarianism.

If we want to create a sense of unity among Pakistanis, it cannot be achieved by placing restrictions on regional and communal groups. That is the wrong way; it will not lead to healthy results. For positive results, positive thinking is needed. All those political parties that have a national standing and a national following should be afforded every opportunity to come forward so that they can reach the masses and unite them through the programs they put forward. No doubt among politicians and political parties there are at present divisive elements that appear to be quite powerful under current

conditions, but that is because there is a feeling of enmity between supporters of national politics and the government. If they stop treating each other as enemies, and leaving feelings of enmity behind they approach the masses and try to unite them on the basis of a program, then it is quite possible that this might pose a threat to the government, but the danger that is haunting the nation would be laid to rest. And if national politics does not succeed and flourish, then we will be left to the fate of fragmentation and confrontation.

12286/12851

CSO: 4656/28



## PROCESS OF TAMIL-SINHALESE SEGREGATION EMERGING

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 28 Dec 86 p 9

[Article by Kalinga Tudor Silva, Department of Sociology, University of Peradeniya]

[Text]

*One aspect of the worsening ethnic relations in contemporary Sri Lanka is the increased tendency towards physical and spatial segregation especially between the majority and minority ethnic groups in the country. The increased social and physical gap between the Sinhalese and the Sri Lanka Tamils, increasingly restricted to the southern and northern (including the north-eastern) parts of Sri Lanka respectively, highlights the major ethnic confrontation in contemporary Sri Lanka. Based on census data and findings of ethnographic research, this paper argues that there is a parallel and emerging process of ethnic segregation between the Sinhalese and the Indian Tamils in central Sri Lanka.*

Ethnic segregation is by no means a new phenomenon in the plantation areas in Sri Lanka. As Kemp (1982) points out racial, ethnic and to some extent caste segregation especially between managers and workers was an important feature of the plantation society in colonial Ceylon. While the planters were mostly European, the office staff came from the westernized Ceylonese including the Burghers; the estate workers were invariably recent immigrants from South India. Among the workers too the labour supervisors were several degrees higher in caste terms compared to the ordinary workers (see also Jayaraman 1975). The social distance between the managers and the workers and that between workers of different grades were maintained through the physical distance between and the quality of their living quarters within the estates.

There was also a marked separation between the estates and the surrounding Kandyan villages, occupied by the native Kandyan Sinhalese. The urban centres in the plantation areas in turn were developed by various immigrant business groups including Europeans, Low Country Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. These colonial

forms of segregation were imposed from above and institutionalized through the organization of production and distribution within the plantation economy.

With the dawn of the post independence era, the colonial forms of segregation described so far gave way to new forms of segregation in the plantation areas. The emerging patterns of ethnic segregation in the plantation areas have much to do with intense competition for scarce resources expressed in ethnic terms. Further it involves majority-minority relations between an increasingly impoverished, but politically awakened peasantry on the one hand and an ethnically defined plantation work force on the other. The emerging patterns of ethnic segregation in the plantation areas are also affected by ethnic tension sparked off by the separatist demands of the Tamil militants operating in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka.

**Emerging Patterns of Ethnic Segregation in Central Sri Lanka**

First we will examine some census data relating to changes in ethnic composition in some selected administrative districts in central Sri Lanka. Table 1 presents the relevant data.

According to table 1, of the various ethnic groups in Sri Lanka only Indian Tamils decreased in number between 1971 and 1981. During this 10 year period the total number of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka decreased by 31 percent and the proportion of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka population reduced from 9.4 to 5.6. Obviously the increased pace of repatriation of Indian Tamils under the Sirima-Shastri Pact of 1964 was the major cause of the reported decrease in their number in Sri Lanka between 1971 and 1981. However it appears that the reported decrease in the number of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka may be considerably higher than the actual drop in their

number during this period. This is because that the census data indicate an **unusually large increase of Sri Lanka Tamils during the same period**. Their reported increase between 1971 and 1981 (32.2 percent) was twice as big compared to the percentage increase of the total population in Sri Lanka during the same period (i.e. 16.8). It is quite possible that **many Indian Tamils** who became citizens of Sri Lanka under the Sirima-Shastri Pact of 1964 identified themselves as Sri Lanka Tamils at the 1981 census, using the literal as against the ethnic meaning of the word 'Sri Lanka Tamil'. Therefore, it can be assumed that the drop in the number of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka between 1971 and 1981 is somewhat exaggerated in census figures.

More important however is the fact that changes in ethnic composition between 1971 and 1981 are not uniform for all administrative districts in Sri Lanka. In the districts of **Kandy and Matale**, representing mid country plantation areas, the decline in the number of Indian Tamils is twice as many as for the country as a whole. During the intercensus period the number of Indian Tamils in Kandy and Matale district decreased by 64% and 50% respectively, as against a 31% decrease in their number in the country as a whole. What is more, there is a complete reversal of trends in the district of Nuwara Eliya representing the hill country plantation areas. In sharp contrast to the trend in Kandy and Matale districts, there was a **5.4% increase in the number of Indian Tamils in the Nuwara Eliya district between 1971 and 1981**. Further, there is a reported **229% increase in the number of Sri Lanka Tamils in the Nuwara Eliya district between 1971 and 1981**. This too may be largely due to the confusion between ethnic categories at the 1981 census.

The important point is that the combined Tamil population in the Nuwara Eliya district increased by 24.1% percent, from 255,606 in 1971 to 317,606 in 1981. It is also significant that in 1981 out of the reported total Indian Tamil population of 825,233 in Sri Lanka as a whole, 247,131 or 30 percent lived in the Nuwara Eliya District.

How do we explain the contrasting changes in ethnic composition in two different parts in Central Sri Lanka? Apart from the Nuwara Eliya district the only other district where there has been an increase in the number of Indian Tamils was Vavuniya where they increased by 31% from 14,191 in 1971 to 18,592 in 1981. It follows that between 1971 and 1981 while there was a return migration of Indian Tamils from Sri Lanka to India, there was a parallel movement of Indian Tamils from the midcountry plantation areas, where they are outnumbered by the Sinhalese, towards their own ethnic concentrations in Nuwara Eliya and Vavuniya districts. This is a clear manifestation of growing ethnic segregation in the country as a whole. It is likely that the process was further intensified after the 1981 census, particularly due to the nationwide outbreak of ethnic violence in July 1983.

For a thorough understanding of the emerging patterns of ethnic segregation in central Sri Lanka, the following questions need to be answered.

1. What factors led to the displacement of Indian Tamils from mid-country plantation areas particularly after 1971?

2. What factors led to their increased concentration within the Nuwara Eliya district, where plantations with an overwhelming presence of Indian Tamils predominate?

3. What are the short-term and possible long-term effects of increased Indian Tamil concentration in the Nuwara Eliya district?

(The next sections of the essay will take up these questions in the above order).

### **The Displacement of Indian Tamils from Mid-country Areas.**

The factors leading to the displacement of Indian Tamils from mid-country areas will be identified primarily through the author's field experience in various parts of the Kandy district between 1976 and 1984. Much of this field experience relates to Kandyan villages, but the interaction between Kandyan Sinhalese peasants and Indian Tamil estate workers in surrounding tea plantations constituted an important area of study in many of these field projects (for details see Silva, K.T. 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986a, 1986b).

The exodus of Indian Tamils from mid-country areas was caused by several factors which had the cumulative effect of destabilizing Indian Tamils especially in midcountry areas since 1948 or so.

**In independent Sri Lanka the Indian Tamils increasingly become a marginalized ethnic minority**, seen by the numerically predominant Kandyan Sinhalese of surrounding villages, as an alien element with a pre-emptive right over employment and land in the plantations. The **Indian Tamils in mid-country areas have been in a particularly vulnerable position as they are far outnumbered by an increasingly volatile Sinhalese peasantry in this area**. The number of Indian Tamils in mid-country areas has rapidly declined due to several waves of outmigration whether they are in the direction of India, Nuwara Eliya district, Vavuniya district or some selected urban destinations in Sri Lanka.

The outflow of Indian Tamils from mid-country areas can be seen as a result of **series of coercive pressures emanating from the organs of the state, political parties and unorganized bands of rural people**. The pressures operating against the Indian Tamils in the area include **legal, political and administrative action on the one hand and physical violence directed against them on the other**. A brief description of various factors contributing to the exodus of Indian Tamils from mid-country areas follows.

#### **1. Legal Pressures**

The Citizenship Acts of 1948 and 1949 and the Land Reform Laws of 1972 and 1975 are two sets of legislation whereby the Indian Tamils

were deprived of some of the basic rights that they had gradually established during the colonial era. As many of them became non-citizens under the new Citizenship Acts, their ability to take part in electoral politics at local and national levels became severely restricted. The Land Reform Laws, while seeking to help the poor and the landless, served to displace large numbers of Indian estate workers as they were not fully absorbed into some of the new settlements and cooperative farms established on nationalized estates (Ellman & Ratnaweera 1974). These legal pressures were particularly operative in areas where the numerical position of the Indian Tamils relative to the majority ethnic group was much smaller.

## 2. Political Pressures

Their minority status combined with the absence of voting rights have made the Indian Tamils a politically marginal group especially in mid-country areas. They are completely displaced from the political patronage system which has evolved as a means of dispensing state patronage in the form of land and employment especially to the rural voters.

Far from benefiting from this patronage system, the Indian Tamils have often become the victims of it as the **nationalized estates are increasingly used as a means of relieving poverty and unemployment in the surrounding villages.** As a minority ethnic group with limited electoral influence, the Indian Tamils have had an uneasy relationship with each of the ruling parties in Sri Lanka. Their only political representation has been through the Ceylon Workers' Congress (CWC), the ethnically oriented trade union cum political party which can only poorly resist increased political pressures against the ethnic group especially in mid-country areas.

## Increased Ethnic Concentration in the Nuwara Eliya District

The tendency towards increased ethnic concentration of Indian Tamils in the Nuwara Eliya district has been noted by some previous authors (Marga Institute 1978, NIBM 1978), but neither its causes nor its possible effects on future ethnic relations in Sri Lanka have been examined in any systematic manner. The analysis of the ethnic trends in the Nuwara Eliya district presented here is limited due to the fact that it is based on rather sketchy secondary sources.

**The increased concentration of a minority ethnic group within a limited geographical space can be seen as a collective response on the part of the ethnic group concerned in a situation where its survival is threatened by external circumstances.** It is clear that the Nuwara Eliya district has been identified and used as a place of refuge by the Indian Tamils fleeing from other areas. (Further it is important that among the Indian Tamils the predominant pattern of migration within Sri Lanka has been from areas with marginal and often uneconomical plantations towards a stronghold of the plantation economy

characterized by larger, more profitable and better-managed plantations.) This has significant implications for the interethnic struggle for the control over resources. Another important aspect is that **the long-standing Indian Tamil residents in the Nuwara Eliya district appear to welcome rather than resist the inflow of fellow Indian Tamils from surrounding areas.** This is rather significant in view of two factors: the limitation of employment opportunities within the plantations and caste fragmentation in Tamilian society. It clearly shows that **in face of external threats the interethnic solidarity among the Indian Tamils has substantially increased.**

The recent reports on unrest in the Nuwara Eliya district must be understood against the background of the processes described in this paper. According to newspaper reports this unrest started as a trade union unrest manifested in the form of a prayer campaign (yagha vyaparaya) in the early part of 1986. This trade union unrest was temporarily resolved by the government in power by granting of citizenship rights to some 90,000 Indian Tamils seeking to be absorbed into the Sri Lanka population under the Sirima-Shastri Pact of 1964. However, there has been frequent strike action among the Indian estate workers in various pockets within the district mostly in protest against the arrest of fellow community members. While trade union unrest is by no means uncommon among the plantation workers in various parts of Sri Lanka, what obtains in the Nuwara Eliya district appears to be much more than the usual degree of trade union activity prevailing among the estate workers elsewhere in Sri Lanka.

Another sensitive issue within the Nuwara Eliya district has been the question of allocating estate land to some recent earth slip victims who happened to be Sinhalese peasants.

This has given rise to a bitter confrontation between Indian Tamil trade union groups on the one hand and the local Sinhalese peasants and their leaders on the other. As yet the question remains unresolved and the earth slip victims continue to remain in refugee camps due to the uncompromising stand taken by each contending party.

There have also been reports of ethnic clashes from time to time especially in Hatton-Talawakelle regions.

According to available reports some of these clashes seem to have originated in interpersonal rivalries, but there also seems to have been rather organized attacks on Sinhalese (especially Low Country Sinhalese) shop owners, Sinhalese estate managers and supervisors and the local police officers in some instances. The Sinhalese estate management staff resident on the local estates was ordered to move out by organized gangs of labourers in several instances. In any case these attacks indicate increased radicalism and aggressiveness on the

**Table 1 : Ethnic Composition in Selected Districts in Sri Lanka,  
1971 to 1981**

District		Sinhalese		Sri Lanka Tamil	Indian Tamil	Ethnicity Muslim	Other	Total
Sri Lanka	1971	No.	9,146,679	1,415,567	1,195,368	853,707	99,822	12,711,143
		%	71.9	11.1	9.4	6.7	0.8	100.0
	1981	No.	10,985,666	1,871,535	825,233	1,056,972	110,595	14,850,001
		%	74.0	12.6	5.6	7.1	0.7	100.0
	71/81 difference	No.	+1,838,987	+455,968	-370,135	+203,265	+10,773	+2,138,858
		%	20.1	32.2	30.9	23.8	10.8	16.8
Matale	1971	No.	234,2545	11,552	48,385	21,096	1055	316,342
		%	74.1	3.7	15.3	6.7	0.3	100.0
	1981	No.	285,514	20,936	24,084	25,836	1071	357,441
		%	79.8	5.9	6.7	7.2	0.3	100.0
	71/81 difference	No.	+51,260	+9,384	-24,301	+4,740	+16	+41,099
		%	21.9	81.2	50.2	22.5	1.5	13.0
Kandy	1971	No.	737,4745	50,226	290,592	101,663	7,215	1,187,170
		%	62.1	4.2	24.5	8.6	0.6	100.0
	1981	No.	844,325	55,675	104,840	112,052	5,485	1,126,296
		%	75.0	4.9	9.3	9.9	0.5	100
	71/81 difference	No.	+106,851	+5,449	-185,752	+10,389	-1,730	-60,874
		%	14.5	10.8	63.9	10.2	24.0	5.1
Nuwara Eliya	1971	No.	187,265	21,425	234,5147	8,268	1,771	453,243
		%	41.3	4.7	51.7	1.8	0.4	100.0
	1981	No.	187,280	70,471	247,131	14,668	2,669	522,219
		%	35.9	13.5	47.3	2.8	0.5	100.0
	71/81 difference	No.	+15	+49,046	+12,617	+6,400	+898	+61,976
		%	0.01	229.0	5.4	77.4	50.7	15.2

Source: 1971 and 1981 Census Reports

part of certain Indian Tamil elements within the Nuwara Eliya district.

It is likely that all the incidents reported in the preceding paragraphs are directly or indirectly related to the changing ethnic composition in the Nuwara Eliya district pointed out earlier in the essay. On the one hand these events signify a reaction from certain section of Indian Tamils in the Nuwara Eliya district including those who have been pushed out of mid country areas.

On the other hand they can be interpreted as efforts on the part of the local Indian Tamils to further intensify the segregation process by pushing out the remaining Sinhalese in the area including the businessmen, estate managers and police officers. Their resistance to the establishment of new Sinhalese settlements in the area including the settlement of local earthslip victims can be understood as a further step towards ensuring ethnic homogeneity in the area.

On the whole the Nuwara Eliya district must be seen as a potential hotbed for further ethnic tension in Sri Lanka. In order to prevent further deterioration of ethnic relations in Sri Lanka much attention needs to be focused on finding ways and means of curtailing the segregation process that is in progress in central Sri Lanka.

## Conclusion

This paper analyzed the emerging patterns of ethnic segregation in Sri Lanka, focusing on the relationship between Sinhalese and Indian Tamils in selected districts in central Sri Lanka. While the country's major ethnic crisis is primarily associated with the northern and eastern parts of the country, the situation in the central highlands too is potentially dangerous in so far as developments parallel to those in the North and the east may be in the offing in central Sri Lanka.

Finally the current proposal for the establishment of Provincial Councils may be a welcome measure from the angle of decentralization of power so as to benefit the minority ethnic groups, but it can also give rise to further ethnic segregation along provincial lines. Suitable precautions against the emerging patterns of ethnic segregation must constitute an important part of any viable solution to the current ethnic problems in Sri Lanka.

## Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was published in Sinhala in *Samaja Vimasuma* (see Silva K.T. 1986 a).

2. The author personally witnessed the confusing use of the term 'Sri Lanka Tamil' in a survey conducted in Uda Palatha in 1984.

3. Personal communication from SPC and JEDB staff known to the author.

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